This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

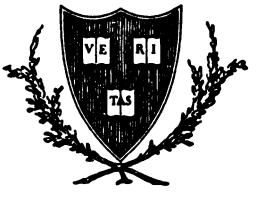
About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

11484
5

11484.5 (43)

Harvard College
Library



FROM THE BEQUEST OF

SAMUEL SHAPLEIGH

CLASS OF 1789

LIBRARIAN OF HARVARD COLLEGE
1793–1800

The Shakespeare Society.

PRESIDENT.

The Rt. Hon. The Earl of Ellesmere.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

Rt. Hon. The Earl of Clarendon, G.C.B.
The Earl of Glengall.
Lord Braybrooke.
Lord Leigh.
Rt. Hon. The Earl Howe.

COUNCIL, 1850.

Thomas Amyot, Esq., F.R.S.
William Ayrton, Esq., F.R.S.
Bayle Bernard, Esq.
The Rt. Hon. the Vice-Chancellor Sir James Knight Bruce, F.R.S., F.S.A.
J. P. Collier, Esq., V.P.S.A., Director.
W. D. Cooper, Esq., F.S.A.
Bolton Corney, Esq.
Peter Cunningham, Esq., Treasurer, F.S.A.
Charles Dickens, Esq.

Sir Henry Ellis, K.H.
John Forster, Esq.
J. O. Halliwell, Esq., F.R.S.
The Rev. W. Harness.
James Heywood, Esq., M.P.
Swynfen Jervis, Esq.
The Hon. G. P. O'Callaghan.
T. J. Pettigrew, Esq., F.R.S.
Sir T. Noon Talfourd, D.C.L.
W. J. Thoms, Esq., F.S.A.
F. G. Tomlins, Esq., Secretary.
His Excellency M. De Silvain Van De Weyer.

THE OBJECT of the Shakespeare Society is to print and distribute to the Subscribers books illustrative of Shakespeare and of the dramatic Literature of his time.

ADMISSION to the Society, of any respectable person, is made by application to the Agent.

THE SUBSCRIPTION is £1 per annum, due on the 1st of January in each year in advance, on payment of which the Member is entitled to a copy of every book printed by the Society for the year for which the Subscription is made. The Subscription is payable to the London Agent, by cash or through the Country Agent, and must be made for the current year. The Subscribing for any or all of the previous years is optional. The books are only procurable of the Society by Members.

THE AFFAIRS of the Society are managed by a Council, consisting of the President, five Vice-Presidents, and twenty-one Members: five of the latter retire every year, and the vacancies are filled up, on the recommendation of the Council, from the general body of the Subscribers, at the Annual General Meeting.

THE COUNCIL meet on the second Tuesday in every month, to select and superintend the works printed by the Society; and the General Members once a-year, on the 26th of April.

THE EDITORS and the Council render their services gratuitously to the Society; and every means are adopted to expend as nearly as possible the whole amount of the Subscriptions in producing books.

THE DELIVERY OF THE BOOKS is made by the London Agents, Messrs. SKEFFINGTON and SOUTHWELL, 192, Piccadilly, to whom all communications on the subject should be made. It is a rule, most strictly adhered to, that *No book shall be delivered until the Subscription is paid.*

CONTRIBUTIONS to "The Shakespeare Society's Papers" are solicited by the Council—it having been deemed desirable to issue occasional volumes thus formed and entitled, in order to create a medium for preserving and distributing illustrations of the literature, which is the peculiar object of the Society.

Books issued by the Shakespeare Society.

FOR 1841.

Memoirs of Edward Alleyn, Founder of Dulwich College. By J. P. Collier.
Gosson's School of Abuse. With Introduction, &c.
Thomas Heywood's Apology for Actors. With Introduction, &c.
The Coventry Mysteries. Edited by J. O. Halliwell, with Introduction and Notes.
Thynn's Pride and Lowliness. With Introduction, Notes, &c.
Patient Grissell. A Comedy, by Dekker, Chettle, and Haughton. Edited by J. P. Collier.

FOR 1842.

Extracts from the Accounts of the Revels at Court in Elizabeth and James's Reigns. With Introduction and Notes by Peter Cunningham.
Ben Jonson's Conversations with Drummond. Introduction, &c. by David Laing.
First Sketch of the Merry Wives of Windsor. The Novels on which it is founded, and an Introduction and Notes by J. O. Halliwell.
Fools and Jesters; with Armin's Nest of Ninnies, &c. Introduction, &c. by J. P. Collier.
The Old Play of Timon. Now first printed. Edited by Rev. A. Dyce.
Nash's Pierce Pennilesse. With Introduction, &c. by J. P. Collier.
Heywood's Edward the Fourth, a Play, in Two Parts. Edited by Barron Field.

FOR 1843.

Northbrooke's Treatise. With an Introduction, &c. by J. P. Collier.
The First Sketches of the Second and Third Parts of Henry the Sixth. Edited by J. O. Halliwell.
Oberon's Vision Illustrated. By the Rev. A. J. Halpin.
The Chester Whitsun Plays —Part I. With Introduction and Notes by Thomas Wright.
The Alleyn Papers, illustrative of the Early English Stage. With Introduction by J. P. Collier.
Inedited Tracts by John Forde the Dramatist. With Introduction by J. P. Collier.

FOR 1844.

Tarlton's Jests and Tarlton's Newes out of Purgatory. With a Life, &c. by J. O. Halliwell.
The True Tragedie of Richard the Third, from a unique Copy, and The Latin Play of Richardus Tertius, from a Manuscript. Edited by Barron Field.
The Ghost of Richard the Third. A Poem. Edited by J. P. Collier.
Sir Thomas More. A Play. Edited by the Rev. A. Dyce.
Vol. I. of "The Shakespeare Society's Papers," being a Miscellany of Contributions Illustrative of the Objects of the Society.
The Taming of a Shrew; and the Woman lapped in Morrel Skin. Edited by Thomas Amyot.

FOR 1845.

Illustrations of the Fairy Mythology of Shakespeare. By J. O. Halliwell.
First Part and a portion of the Second Part of Shakespeare's Henry the IVth. From a Unique Contemporary Manuscript. Edited by J. O. Halliwell.
Diary of Philip Henslowe, from 1591 to 1609. From the Original at Dulwich College. Edited by J. P. Collier.
Vol. II. of "The Shakespeare Society's Papers." Consisting of Miscellaneous Contributions.

FOR 1846.

The Fair Maid of The Exchange, A Comedy, by Thomas Heywood: and Fortune by Land and Sea, a Tragi-Comedy, by Thomas Heywood and William Rowley. Edited by Barron Field.
The Marriage of Wit and Wisdom. An Ancient Interlude. From the original Manuscript recently discovered.
Memoirs of the Principal Actors in Shakespeare's Plays. By J. Payne Collier.
Rich's Farewell to Military Profession. From the unique Copy of the first edition of 1581.

FOR 1847.

Ralph Roister Doyster, a Comedy, by Nicholas Udall, and the Tragedie of Gorboduc, by Thomas Norton and Thomas Sackville. Edited by W. Durrant Cooper.
Part II. of The Chester Whitsun Plays. Edited by Thomas Wright.
Vol. III. of "The Shakespeare Society's Papers." Consisting of Miscellaneous Contributions.

FOR 1848.

The Moral Play of Wit and Science. Edited by J. O. Halliwell.
Extracts from the Registers of the Stationers' Company of Works entered for publication between 1557 and 1570; with Notes and Illustrations by J. Payne Collier. Vol. I.
Inigo Jones. A Life of the Architect, by Peter Cunningham. Remarks on some of his Sketches for Masques and Dramas; by J. R. Planché. Five Court Masques; edited from the original MSS. of Ben Jonson, John Marston, &c., by J. P. Collier. Accompanied by Facsimiles of drawings by Inigo Jones, and a Portrait from a Painting by Vandyck.

FOR 1849.

Vol. IV. of "The Shakespeare Society's Papers."
Vol. II. of Extracts from the Registers of the Stationers' Company: 1570 to 1587. By J. P. Collier.
The Chandos Portrait, engraved, by permission of the President, the Rt. Hon. Earl of Ellesmere, by Mr. Cousins, A.R.A.

FOR 1850.

The First and Second Parts of the Fair Maid of the West; or, a Girl worth Gold. Two Comedies by Thomas Heywood. Edited by J. P. Collier.
The Remarks of M. Karl Simrock, on the Plots of Shakespeare's Plays. With Notes, &c., by J. O. Halliwell.

IN PREPARATION,

A dissertation on the imputed Portraits of Shakespeare: as an accompaniment to the Engraving of the Chandos Portrait. By J. Payne Collier.
Selection from Oldys's MS. Notes to Langbaine's Dramatic Poets. By Peter Cunningham.

THE REMARKS

OF

M. KARL SIMROCK,

ON THE

PLOTS OF SHAKESPEARE'S PLAYS.

WITH NOTES AND ADDITIONS

BY J. O. HALLIWELL, ESQ., F.R.S.,

HON. M.R.I.A., HON. M.R.S.L., F.S.A., F.R.A.S., ETC.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR THE SHAKESPEARE SOCIETY.

1850.

~~Eng. Lit. 2.186~~
11484.5 (43)

F. Shoberl, Jun., Printer to H.R.H. Prince Albert, Rupert Street, Haymarket.

887
43-4
11-13

COUNCIL

OF

THE SHAKESPEARE SOCIETY.

President.

THE EARL OF ELLESMERE.

Vice-Presidents.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON.
THE EARL OF GLENGALL.
THE EARL HOWE.
THE RT. HON. LORD BRAYBROOKE.
THE RT. HON. LORD LEIGH.

Council.

THOMAS AMYOT, ESQ., F.R.S., F.S.A.
WILLIAM AYRTON, ESQ., F.R.S., F.S.A.
BAYLE BERNARD, ESQ.
THE RIGHT HON. THE VICE-CHANCELLOR SIR JAMES KNIGHT BRUCE, F.R.S., F.S.A.
J. PAYNE COLLIER, ESQ., V.P.S.A., DIRECTOR.
W. DURRANT COOPER, ESQ., F.S.A.
BOLTON CORNEY, ESQ., M.R.S.L.
PETER CUNNINGHAM, ESQ., TREASURER.
CHARLES DICKENS, ESQ.
SIR HENRY ELLIS, K.H., PRINCIPAL LIBRARIAN OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM, F.R.S., F.S.A.
JOHN FORSTER, ESQ.
J. O. HALLIWELL, ESQ., F.R.S., F.S.A.
THE REV. WILLIAM HARNESS.
JAMES HEYWOOD, ESQ., M.P.
SWYNFEN JERVIS, ESQ.
THE HON. GEORGE PONSONBY O'CALLAGHAN.
T. J. PETTIGREW, ESQ., F.R.S., F.S.A.
SIR T. NOON TALFOURD, D.C.L.
WILLIAM JOHN THOMS, ESQ., F.S.A.
F. GUEST TOMLINS, ESQ., SECRETARY.
HIS EXCELLENCY M. DE SILVAIN VAN DE WEYER.

The Council of the Shakespeare Society desire it to be understood that they are not answerable for any opinions or observations that may appear in the Society's publications; the Editors of the several works being alone responsible for the same.

PREFACE.

An opinion has been gaining ground, and has been encouraged by writers whose judgment is entitled to respectful consideration, that almost if not all the commentary on the works of Shakespeare of a necessary and desirable kind has already been given to the world. We are told by the late Mr. Barron Field, a gentleman who had paid minute attention to Shakespearian criticism, that "enough, and more than enough," has been produced of contemporary illustration and philosophical commentary. Even Mr. Collier, though with more hesitation, evidently leans towards the same view of the question; and several able writers in newspapers and other periodicals have expressed a similar conviction.

Mr. Field's dictum is certainly to be adopted in one point of consideration. We need not be told that the spirit of most of Shakespeare's plays will be appreciated by an intelligent reader, were he compelled to read them in the most inaccurate edition that was ever printed, and without the assistance of a line of commentary. The "Tempest" will yield him pleasure, albeit he may not be acquainted with

the meaning of *scamels*, or whether *wreck* or *rack* be the adopted reading. The "rotten carcase of a *butt*" may create a momentary embarrassment; but the surpassing interest of the tale will carry him too rapidly to its development, for the *durior lectio* to be a serious obstacle. Ariel's songs, those songs of beauty, never forgotten when once heard, will be estimated were they presented with the rudest punctuation. And so of other plays. Take any edition of Shakespeare, where the dramas are to be found in their full proportions, and the author's general meaning and purpose will be understood, in defiance of a thousand difficulties of this description.

Yet, when the case is fairly exhibited, few persons would be found to deny that every fragment of Shakespeare's language is worthy of instructive explanation. If we read with pleasure where so much is obscure, shall we not receive greater delight when the meaning of every passage in his great works is fully revealed? The real question is whether this consummation has been already accomplished by the commentators and editors. Mr. Collier, in the preface to his edition, remarks, that "my main object has been to ascertain the true language of the poet, and my next to encumber his language with no more in the shape of comment than is necessary to render the text intelligible; and I may add that I have the utmost confidence in the perspicuity of Shakespeare's mode of expressing his own meaning when once his precise words have been established." But the latter observation will apply only to those portions of his

works where the language has not become obsolete, and where allusions to the manners, customs, or occurrences of the author's own age are not to be discovered.

The pages of Shakespeare are replete with forgotten allusions and obsolete phraseology, as any one may ascertain from a careful perusal of such scenes as we meet with at the commencement of "Much Ado about Nothing," and in several other plays.

Criticism on the works of Shakespeare may be classed into three principal divisions:

I. PHILOLOGICAL, including the grammatical construction used by the poet, idiomatic phraseology, explanations of obsolete words, and the systems of metre.

II. PHILOSOPHICAL, including every kind of æsthetic or psychological commentary.

III. HISTORICAL, including inquiries into the sources of the plots, local and contemporary illustration of realities (not words), costume, and all that relates to history, geography, chronology, &c.

It is no dishonour to the labours of the elder critics or modern editors to admit that much remains to be done in each of these departments, especially in the first, before an earnest inquirer can form a Shakespearian library in which all his difficulties shall be solved, or at least intelligently discussed. The consideration of the subject is not irrelevant to the preface of a work treating on a branch of criticism on which we require less information than on almost

any other. It is my desire to combat the belief that these studies are unnecessary, whatever direction they may take. If we select any play, the "Merry Wives of Windsor," for example—a very unfavourable one for the purposes of my argument, no play being better annotated in the variorum edition—we shall find amongst the unexplained words and phrases, not noticed by Mr. Collier or Mr. Knight:[1] 1, possibilities; 2, fault; 3, marry trap; 4, veneys; 5, fico; 6, intention; 7, yellowness; 8, are you avis'd of that; 9, meddle or make; 10, gally-mawfry; 11, Good even and twenty, the comma being erroneously placed after *even;* 12, his wife's frailty; 13, sith; 14, admittance; 15, *aqua-vitæ;* 16, foin; 17, traverse; 18, punto; 19, stock; 20, reverse; 21, distance; 22, Montant; 23, clapperclaw; 24, laid; 25, having; 26, tire-valiant; 27, whiting-time; 28, buck-washing; 29, make a shaft or a bolt on't; 30, slighted; 31, thrumm'd hat; 32, rag; 33, come off; 34, urchins; 35, tricking; 36, mince; 37, lewdsters; 38, scut; 39, orphan heirs of fixed destiny; 40, hodge-pudding. All these are either obsolete, used in senses not known at the present day, or require explanation, owing to the peculiar manner in which they are

[1] This list might be greatly increased, and the selecting only those words unexplained by *both the Editors* above-mentioned renders it more limited than if we were speaking merely of one edition; Mr. Knight having notes on many passages passed over without remark by Mr. Collier, and *vice versa.* But, taking a very low average, and supposing only sixty in each play are still left without necessary annotation, *we have upwards of two thousand obsolete words and phrases in Shakespeare left without any explanation by the two latest and best Editors.*

introduced. The reader must, however, bear in mind I am not by this implying any censure on the meritorious editions of Mr. Knight and Mr. Collier. Both contain many excellencies, and both have added greatly to our previous knowledge; they are, indeed, the only editions that have appeared for many years, possessing good claims to originality; but it will, I think, be evident that much remains to be done that can fairly be demanded by an intelligent inquirer.

It is with the earnest hope that the explanatory study of the plays of Shakespeare, if I may so express myself, may not be suffered to remain neglected, these few observations have been advanced. There is now an appropriate medium for the publication of any researches in this direction in the "Papers" of the Shakespeare Society, a periodical which has undoubtedly contributed much valuable information to the departments of biography and literary criticism, however much its utility may have been questioned by those who expect uniform excellence, a perfection not attained by any miscellany of the kind. We must not apply the motto, *Ex uno disce omnes;* for, even in the best works, time will discover imperfections on the surface, and haply sweep them away. How much more, then, must a magazine, formed from a mass of stray and gratuitous contributions, however skilful the Editor, be subject to the admission of essays which perplex rather than satisfy. Notwithstanding the liability to this defect, the series is a most valuable one to the Shakespearian student, and would, I sincerely believe, be far more

important, would they who have the opportunity bestow their attention on those passages of the works of our great poet which have not yet been satisfactorily explained.

There is another division of criticism, extremely important to an Editor, which is unquestionably still in its infancy: I allude to the grammatical construction of the English language in Shakespeare's time, especially of the colloquial speech so much employed by the great poet. Gifford was the only critic who had really paid any attention to the subject; for all that his successors, Dyce, Collier, and others, have accomplished, is the explanation of certain grammatical idioms previously misunderstood. None of these writers, however, have attempted to analyze the results of their reading into a system; and many of the most usual constructions in Elizabethan grammar are evidently unknown. I may mention, as an example, a well-known passage in the *Tempest*—

> " *You* are three men of sin, whom destiny
> (That hath to instrument this lower world,
> And what is in't) the never-surfeited sea
> Hath caus'd to belch up *you*"—

where, if Mr. Collier had known *that the duplication of the pronoun is the rule, not the exception, in particular constructions*, he would scarcely have thought the second *you* in this passage had " crept into the old text by mere inadvertence." None of the Editors of Shakespeare, as far as I can find, have *explained* this and other grammatical rules of a similar description; yet surely it should be necessary for an Editor

to have a knowledge of the grammatical construction of the language in which the author wrote. The language of Elizabeth's time differed very much in its construction from that used in the latter half of the seventeenth century. Here is a field of criticism, which requires the labour of many students for many years. The materials are scattered, but not unattainable; and a collection of idiomatic phrases and peculiar constructions would soon lead to a glimpse of the system, the history of the formation of which should be collected from the time of the departure of the terminal contractions (the representatives of the vowel terminations of the Anglo-Saxon), in the fifteenth century.

Passing over a very important department, that of philosophical criticism, which has the advantage of employing the pens of some of the most able writers of the present day, we may turn to that curious branch of inquiry which is the subject of the present volume, and which indirectly illustrates the history of the poet's mind, in exhibiting to us the simple materials from which his wonderful dramas were constructed. The original tales used by Shakespeare, chiefly consisting of translations, have been collected by Mr. Collier in his "Shakespeare's Library," 1842. The work of M. Simrock will form an appropriate supplement to that excellent collection, and although, perhaps, he has too frequently entered into discussions that can scarcely be considered illustrative of Shakespeare, there is a great deal of curious matter in his Remarks, which will repay perusal. The

Germans have access to a great variety of works connected with the history of fiction, that are little known in this country, or procured with great difficulty; and M. Simrock has made very good use of them. The Remarks were published at the end of a collection of the tales used by Shakespeare, collected and translated by Dr. Echtermeyer, M. Henschel, and M. Simrock, 8vo., Berlin, 1831.

It is right to add, that the Editor of this volume is not in any way responsible for the translation, which was made by a competent person under the direction of the Council of the Shakespeare Society, and is believed to be a faithful version of the original.

J. O. H.

Avenue Lodge, Brixton Hill.
June, 1850.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
1. Romeo and Juliet	3
2. Hamlet	26
3. Measure for Measure	36
4. Othello	43
5. Merchant of Venice	45
6. Cymbeline	64
7. Merry Wives of Windsor	76
8. Taming of the Shrew	80
9. All's Well that Ends Well	94
10. Much Ado about Nothing	99
11. The Winter's Tale	102
12. Two Gentlemen of Verona	105
13. Twelfth Night	*ib.*
14. Pericles	116
15. King Lear	121
16. Macbeth	126
17. As You Like It	139
18. Locrin, Lord Cromwell, &c.	142

REMARKS

ON THE

PLOTS OF SHAKESPEARE'S DRAMAS,

BY

M. KARL SIMROCK.

M. SIMROCK,

ON THE

PLOTS OF SHAKESPEARE'S PLAYS.

I. ROMEO AND JULIET.

The unhappy amour of Romeo and Juliet is related by Girolamo de la Corte, in his *Historia di Verona*, (Veron. 1594, 96, 2 vols. 4to.[1]) as a real occurrence which had taken place at Verona, at the beginning of the fourteenth century. Nothing is more natural than the supposition of Eschenburg, by whom this subject has been treated, that the novelists may have borrowed their tale from the historian: yet the exact reverse appears to be the truth, the historian having, in this instance, borrowed of the novelists, though Girolamo declares that he has himself seen the remains of the vault in which the lovers were laid.[2] A. W. von Schlegel (*Kritische*

[1] Reprinted at Venice, 4to., 1744. In the fourth volume of the Shakespeare Society's Papers, p. 6, is an account of an Italian poem on the story of Romeo and Juliet, printed at Venice in 1553, which has escaped the commentators. The writer of the paper has given an interesting analysis of this rare work, but does not observe it is Bandello's story, with a few immaterial variations.—ED.

[2] Breval's testimony is curious, though not of much value. "Shakespeare, as I have found upon a strict search into the histories of Verona, has varied very little either in his names, characters, or other circum-

Schriften, i., 388) had previously expressed his doubts as to the historical foundation of the story; for Girolamo continued his history of Verona to the year 1560; and the two first parts of Bandello's Tales had appeared at Lucca in 1554, in which edition the story in question is the ninth novel of the second part. Long before Bandello, (1529) Luigi da Porto [1] had told this same story in his single *Novella*, printed for the first time in 1535, and an earlier historical testimony is no where to be found.

Luigi da Porto, in the introduction to his story, quotes, as his authority, the *vivâ voce* information of his archer, a Veronese named Peregrino. He tells us that, having in his youth sojourned some time in Friuli, he was riding in company with two of his people and this archer, from Gradisca to Udino, and being in deep melancholy, arising from an unfortunate attachment, he kept aloof from his companions. The Veronese, a man of fifty, himself a victim to the tender passion, and whose forte consisted in the relation of touching love-stories, noticed this circumstance, and divined his thoughts: whereupon he rode up to him, and, partly to amuse him, partly to warn him of the unhappy consequences of love, told him the story.

Luigi's archer gave as his authority a relation of his father's, but doubted the historical truth of the occurrence, because he had read in some old chronicles that the Capelletti and Montecchi had always belonged to the same party. This appears

stances, from truth and matter of fact. He observed this rule, indeed, in most of his tragedies, which are so much the more moving, as they are not only grounded upon nature and history, but likewise as he keeps closer to both than any dramatic writer we ever had besides himself."—Breval ap. Upton, ed. 1748, p. 74. Breval reproves Otway, alluding to Caius Marius.—Ed.

[1] Who died in the year 1531. There are four editions of his book, 1535, 1539, 1553, and 1731. It is also reprinted in the *Novelliero Italiano*, 1754.—Ed.

also from the passage of Dante quoted by Schlegel, (*Purgatorio*, canto vi.) according to which both families were Ghibellines. Dante himself visited Verona shortly after the rule of Bartolomeo de la Scala, and stayed there some time, but mentions neither the story of the two lovers nor the quarrel of their family, though he relates many similar incidents, and had the opportunity of introducing it in the thirteenth canto of the Inferno, where he speaks of those who had committed violence on themselves. The only chronicle of this period which has remained, says as little of these dissensions as those which Luigi's archer professed to have seen. Girolamo de la Corte, on whose historical accuracy Maffei places but little reliance, appears to have made use, therefore, of this story, which two well-known novelists had related before him, only to fill a gap in his History of Verona, which is very obscure at the period of the sway of the house of Scala.

According to the account of a still earlier novelist, Masuccio di Salerno, whose *Novellino* was first printed at Naples in 1476,[1] a similar event happened in Sienna. It is true that most of his fifty tales contain real incidents: at least, he declares, at the end of the book, calling God to witness, that all these stories had really happened in his own times. We will here give an abridgment of the tale in question, the agreement of which with that of Romeo and Juliet has been already remarked by Dunlop, in his History of Fiction, p. 255, ed. 1845. In the edition before us, (8vo., Vinegia, 1531) it is the third tale of the fourth book.

In Sienna lived a young man of good family, named Mariotto Mignanelli, who was deeply in love with a girl named Gianozza, and had succeeded in engaging her affections. Some impediment, it is not stated what, stood in the way of their public marriage. Having, therefore, no other means of being united, they resolved upon a secret union, and effected this by bribing an Augustine monk, who per-

[1] Reprinted at Venice in 1525.—Ed.

formed the ceremony. Not long afterwards, Mariotto had the misfortune to kill another citizen of note of Sienna, with whom he had a quarrel. For this he was condemned by the Podesta to perpetual banishment, and obliged to fly to Alexandria, where he had an uncle, one Sir Nicolo Mignanelli, a rich merchant. At his departure, his beloved Gianozza promised to write often to him; and his brother Gargano also promised to give him information respecting her health and circumstances. Shortly afterwards, however, the father of Gianozza found a husband for her, and she was unable to oppose his desire for her marriage, having no reason which she dared allege against it. She pretended, therefore, to consent to the marriage, but endeavoured to escape it by means as daring as they were extraordinary. She bribed the Augustine monk who had married her to prepare a potion which should cast her for three days into a slumber resembling death. She drank it boldly, and was buried in the church of St. Augustine. Before this, she had sent to inform her lover of her purpose, but the messenger was taken by pirates, and never reached him. He received, however, another letter, written by his brother, informing him of the death of his mistress, and of that of her father, who had, indeed, died of grief for the loss of his daughter. Upon this, the unhappy Mariotto resolved to go immediately to Sienna, and either die of grief upon her grave, or suffer himself to be taken by the officers of justice, and end his life by the sentence of the law. He was taken in an attempt to open the vault, and condemned to death. Meanwhile, Gianozza had been taken out of her grave the night after her burial, and, as soon as she came to herself, had set out, dressed in men's clothes, for Alexandria, hoping there to be united to her lover. Here she learns, to her dismay, that Mariotto, at the news of her death, had gone to Sienna, and she resolves immediately to return thither also. She arrives just three days after his execution, and dies of grief, falling on the dead body of her lover.

It is easy to see that both stories agree in all their essential points; almost the only variation being that Mariotto chooses a different kind of death from Romeo. Meanwhile, this also is given us as an historical fact, but we are not on that account obliged to give credence to it. It is possible that the two stories may each have happened, the one in Sienna, the other in Verona: similar incidents must always be repeated; for the nature of love is reflected in them; but in all a proof of their historical truth is wanting.

It has been attempted to trace this fiction still further. Douce, in his Illustrations of Shakspeare, (ed. 1839, p. 436, cf. Dunlop, p. 35) compares it with the Middle Greek romance of Xenophon Ephesius, and has expressed a belief that Luigi da Porto has availed himself of an extract from it.[1] Anthia, the heroine of this romance, takes a sleeping potion to escape a hated marriage. She is buried, and on waking is carried away by robbers, who had come to plunder the vault of treasure. But Luigi da Porto could scarcely have known this romance. We should rather imagine that the story, of which a single lost trait is found in Xenophon Ephesius, (the same occurring elsewhere, in a similar isolated manner, as, for example, in Cinthio, iii., 5) was already known in the time of the Greek writer. And as Luigi da Groto, surnamed Cieco d'Adria,[2] in his tragedy on this sub-

[1] Most readers will agree with Dunlop in the opinion that, as the work of Xenophon Ephesius was not published in the lifetime of Luigi da Porto, the resemblance is not sufficiently strong to induce a belief that it was seen by that novelist.—Ed.

[2] The edition of this play in my possession is entitled "La Hadriana Tragedia di Luigi Groto Cieco d'Hadria, novamente ristampata et ricorretta," Venet., 1612, 12mo. The dedication is dated November 29th, 1578, and in the course of the Prologue the author says—

"La cui historia, scritta in duri marmi,
Ma men duri però della lor fede,
Trovò l'autor, con queste note chiusa
A te, che troverai dopò tanti anni

ject, in which also occurs the character of a garrulous nurse, refers to old annals of his country, it seems clear that an ancient love story, circulating in various forms, and appearing continually to renew itself, has taken root in all these places. In our opinion, the same features may be recognised in the three most noted love-tales of all times: those of Hero and Leander, and Pyramis and Thisbe, among the ancients; and that of Tristan and Isolde, among the moderns; and we consider them in all essential points identical with the story of Romeo and Juliet. The last mentioned is only the most modern form, the last *renasçence* of the ancient myth, which represented the idea of love, and of its tragic fate, in the simplest and most consistent manner. The idea common to all these fictions appears to us to be the following.

Love, in its concentration, knows no other law than its own, which compels it to fulfil itself. It conquers all obstacles, and breaks through every restraint of custom, to reach that object which alone is of any value in its eyes. But whilst striving after this, it so far renounces all the conditions of earthly existence, that the least accident seems sufficient to tear entirely loose the feeble bond which binds it to the world, and to avenge the external world, and the rules of custom, for the contempt it has endured. This chance, how-

> La scoltura di questo acerbo caso;
> Si commette, che tu debbi disporlo
> In guisa, che rappresentar si possa.
> Porgendo un vivo essempio in quilla etate
> D'un' amor fido a i giovani, e a le don ne.
> Benche più lungo spatio ti convenga
> Stringer di tempo, che non porta l'uso
> Del che per iscusarti, hai qui licenza
> D'aggiungere una parte, anzi il principio."

This play is probably rare, for no copy of it appears to be in the Bodleian Library, not even in Douce's collection; yet, so little is this class of literature sought after, that my copy was bought at a stall for the sum of *sixpence!*—Ed.

ever, cannot affect the passion of love, so long as it remains external thereto; for then would love conquer and set it aside, as it does everything else belonging to the outward world. This obstacle must, therefore, disguise itself in the nature of love, and produce an error with regard to its object. When this has been accomplished for one, and he or she has voluntarily resigned the bond which connected him with the earth, then the error has become for the other a melancholy truth. This latter party follows, then, the one which has gone before; and both take refuge from this troubled being in a higher and happier life, where all will be fulfilled which they strove in vain to realize here. Thus the lovers perish not so much by means of the outward world as by the accidents of love itself.

It is clear that the several stories which contain this idea are not necessarily different, merely because they in one case appear to take the part of lovers and love, in another to defend parents and the duties against which the lovers have offended. The latter form is found in those versions of the story which antiquity received from the East, whilst the new forms of the fiction speak rather in favour of love, and incline to place the fault on the parents' side.

In Pyramis and Thisbe, the obstacle which separates the lovers is symbolized in the most simple and material manner by a wall which separates their houses. In Hero and Leander, it is a strait of the sea:

> "Tearing Europe's shores from Asia,
> It divides not love from love."

And in the German ballads which turn upon this story, (*Knaben Wunderhorn*, i., 236, ii., 252) it is a broad river, or deep lake—

> Es waren zwei Königskinder,
> Die hatten einander gar lieb:
> Sie konnten zusammen nicht kommen,
> Das Wasser war viel zu tief.[1]

[1] "Two King's children were there—who loved each other well—but could not meet—the water was much too deep."—ED.

But love succeeds in overcoming these impediments. A secret chink is formed in the wall, through which the lovers see and converse; the strait, or the lake, is swum over.

"If thou canst but swim, love,
Swim over here to me."

In the German ballads which represent the story of Pyramus and Thisbe, (*Knaben Wunderhorn*, i. 275; ii., 243) the wall is not mentioned, but the impediment is represented as a moral one:—

"That by their parents' watching,
The lovers could not meet."

With the ancients, a moral obstacle is invariably concealed by the material one represented. Thus in the "Metamorphoses," iv., 61—

"Sed vetuere patres"—

and in the *Heroides*, xviij., 13—

"Non poteram celare meos, velut ante, parentes;
Quemque tegi volumus, non latuisset amor."

Schiller thus expressed it—

"But the parents' hostile anger
Sundered the betrothed pair."

Originally, this impediment was exclusively material, and the moral one is not at all mentioned in the German ballads of the story of Leander. In Romeo and Juliet, the obstacle certainly occurs as a moral one; but the enmity of the two families, so accordant with Italian circumstances, put instead of the actual division, has something in it natural and material; and one may find, indeed, the partition physically represented in the lattice through which the lovers speak; in the confessional with the little window; and in the garden-wall. Romeo's words in Shakespeare may serve for a confirmation of this:—

"*Jul.* How cam'st thou hither? tell me; and wherefore?
The orchard walls are high, and hard to climb;

And the place death, considering who thou art,
If any of my kinsmen find thee here.
Rom. With Love's light wings did I o'erperch these walls;
For stony limits cannot hold Love out.
And what Love can do, that dares Love attempt;
Therefore, thy kinsmen are no stop[1] to me."

There is also a passage of the same kind in "Erotokritos," a modern Greek heroic poem of Vincenzo Carnara, between 1630 and 1650. Arethusa, the daughter of King Heracles, of Athens, loves Erotokritos, the son of the minister Pezostratos. The lovers speak through a window of iron lattice-work in the wall which divides the royal palace from that of the minister. (Compare Iken's *Leucothea*, i., 187.) This confirms the identity of Romeo and Juliet with Pyramus and Thisbe.[2]

In the further course of this story the resemblance with that of Romeo and Juliet is striking. The lovers, to whom the chink in the wall allows no perfect union, resolve to steal out of the city in the night, and to meet by the tomb of Ninus, under a mulberry-tree which overshadows a cool spring. In the German ballad, they write letters to each other.

"And in them there was mention made
Of a cool well and greenwood slade,
Whereby the first arrived should wait
For him, or her, who tarried late."

The danger in which they here stand is shadowed out by the mention of the tomb of Ninus, which alludes to Death, already watching, as it were, for his prey. In the story of Romeo and Juliet, the same effect is produced by the appoint-

[1] The early quarto edition reads *let*; the edition of 1609 and the folio of 1623 has *stop*. The meaning is exactly the same.—Ed.

[2] This deduction appears scarcely warranted by the previous statements.—Ed.

ment at the tomb of the Capulets, which is used as the means to effect the union of the lovers. We must imagine to ourselves the place where Pyramus and Thisbe meet, as

"Loca plena metus,"

as Pyramus expresses himself in Ovid: it is a wilderness inhabited by wild beasts, not less dangerous than the Hellespont, to which Leander trusts himself. But these terrors would have inflicted no injury on the lovers, had not love itself been destructive to them. A lioness, dripping with the blood of slaughtered cattle, comes to quench her thirst at the well at which Thisbe, who had arrived first, is waiting for her lover. She flies into a cave, and thus escaped the danger; but, in the haste of flight, lets fall part of her dress, which the lioness tears with her gory mouth, and thus arises the unhappy error which causes the destruction of both. In the German ballad is found an incident peculiar to it. The lioness brings forth her young on the mantle, and carries them away; and the lover, on his arrival, finds it in the condition above described.

Pyramus is now in the same error as Romeo. He imagines his beloved dead, because he finds her mantle torn and disfigured with blood. He attributes to himself the guilt of her death, and slays himself upon her mantle; so Romeo drinks the poison over what he imagines to be the dead body of Juliet. Now comes Thisbe out of her cavern, as Juliet awakes from the sleeping potion, finds her lover in his blood, and the still smoking sword by his side:—

"Into her troubled heart she drove
The gory sword, and died for love;
And God, we trust, would not deliver
Her soul to penal gloom for ever,
Since that love ruleth, as we see,
All things in this sad world that be."

But before her death she conjures her parents to grant her and her lover a common grave; and this last wish is fulfilled. One urn encloses their mortal remains, and the Gods perform a miracle on the mulberry-tree which overshadows it; for its fruits, which their blood had sprinkled, hitherto white, are henceforth changed into red.

The coincidence in the further course of the story of Hero and Leander is not so evident. It is true that the older poems which treated on this fable are lost, and the echo of them, in the Heroides of Ovid, and the relation of the grammarian Musæus, is probably not without *lacunæ*. We may refer, for our instruction, to Schiller's representation. An accurate comparison of the various modes of treating this subject may be found in Valentin Schmidt's excellent work, "Ballads and Romances of the German poets Bürger, Stollberg, and Schiller," 269; but the older German ballads on this story are omitted.

In the poem of the two Kings' children, already mentioned, it is not the storm by which Leander perishes, but the extinguishing of the torch which Hero had lighted destroys him.

"Ah! love, if thou canst swim,
So swim across to me,
And I will light three candles,
A guiding mark for thee.

"There sat a nun, false sister,
And made as she did sleep;
But she blew out the tapers—
The boy sank in the deep."

In Musæus and Schiller the two causes concur; —

"And the torch, his goal and guide,
Vanished as the wild winds blew:
Terror filled the waters wide—
Terror filled the dark shores, too."

The extinguishing of the torch, however, would have been superfluous, if the storm alone had had power to overcome the strength of the lover. This circumstance can assume significance only when we premise that Leander, according to the meaning of the story, would have conquered the storm, if the torch had not been extinguished. It may be that it is to be understood thus—that Leander withstood the power of the storm as long as the torch beamed forth to him the image of his beloved, and raised his courage; and that his strength gave way when the star of Love seemed to be extinguished with the torch. But the extinguishing of the fire which the beloved object tended might, however, have led Leander into the error that she had fallen a sacrifice to the frightful storm which was raging over the head of the lover. According to the last explanation, which has the analogy of the cognate stories in its favour, the idea already mentioned would develop itself here in all its parts; inasmuch as chance, which here appears in the shape of the storm, had no immediate power over the lovers, but must first take the form of an error concerning the beloved object. Even on the first supposition, the same idea comes into action, inasmuch as Leander is subdued, not by the power of the sea, which he had so often overcome, but by his passion; the storm, which in itself could not touch him, must seek an indirect way, through his feelings, by extinguishing the torch which inspired his courage. The suicide of Hero, which closes the history, runs exactly parallel with that of Thisbe. We have another German ballad on this story, wherein the torch also occupies a conspicuous position. The lady affixes the torch to a float of wood, and sends it over the water to her lover, who holds it up in his hand as he swims to her. The accidental disappearance of this excites the idea of his death, as in the story of Hero and Leander.

In a novel of Straparola, (vii., 2) which perhaps we shall give afterwards, it is the maiden who swims over the strait.

Her brothers, who disapprove of the acquaintance, and wish to punish her for it, suffer her to follow a false light, and to travel so long through the waves, that her strength fails her, and she sinks.

In the story of Tristan and Isolde, with which the reader is probably acquainted, the impediment is represented as a moral one; for Isolde is King Mark's wife, or at least passes for such; and Tristan's connexion with her, if not adultery, is at least treason against his friend.[1] On the other hand, the duty of vengeance for blood enjoins upon Isolde to hate Tristan, because he has slain her uncle Morolt. Besides this, the lovers have to encounter a large number of external impediments, which, however, cannot be considered as symbols of moral hinderance. We may, however, discover such a symbol in the naked sword which Tristan has laid between himself and Isolde, when Mark finds them sleeping in the cavern in the forest. This placing of the sword, as is known, recurs in many stories,[2] but every where signifies the duty,

[1] Here the story of love touches upon that of friendship. The collision of these two passions is handled in three stories, originally identical, namely, those of Tristan, Sigurd, and Amicus and Amelius. In Tristan, the collision is decided in favour of love: in Amicus and Amelius, in favour of friendship. The story of Sigurd and Gunnar halts between the two. All three stories have in common the fight with the dragon, the goblet of love, and the laying down of the sword. The story leaves us in doubt whether Sigurd did not break his faith to Gunnar; the daughter, (Aslaug) who was born from his intimacy with Brunhilda, seems to show that he was not more in earnest with the placing of the sword than Tristram was. In the further course of the story, Gunnar conceives against Sigurd, for this same cause, a suspicion perhaps not wholly groundless; and in consequence of this, Sigurd is betrayed. Here it remains undecided whether he fell a victim to injured friendship, or wounded love. The further consideration of this view is reserved for a treatise on the "friendship-fable."

[2] The incident is familiar to every reader, occurring in the tale of "Aladdin," who lies down by the side of the princess with the sword betwixt them, to show that he deserved to lose his life if he attempted

or the law which separates those who lie side by side. So in the story of Sigurd and Gunnar, of Amicus and Amelius, &c., where it is the duty towards his friend and step-brother which separates Sigurd, &c.; in the shape of a naked sword from Brunhilda, &c. In the friendship-story, this law is regarded; for the sense of this story is, that love itself, otherwise the mightiest of all passions, cannot move the friend to falsehood against his friend. In the love-story, on the contrary, it is set aside, like every other obstacle, and serves only to blind the good-natured Mark, who now trusts fully in their innocence and continence. We are authorized in making this emblematic application of the sword to the *separating* influence of moral causes, as we have already applied the wall and the stream in the foregoing stories, since the *uniting* influence, love, appears emblematized in the love potion which Tristan drinks with Isolde. This symbolical application of the obstacle in the sword is supported by the circumstance that Tristan's end is produced by a wound, though, as the story now stands, this has no farther relation with the incident in the cavern; but at his death are found all the peculiarities, answering to the main idea, which we have already noticed in the preceding stories. For Tristan, in a combat, had been struck in the old wound, which Isolde has once healed, and Isolde only can heal again. He sends a messenger to her with a ring, as a token, bidding him hoist a white sail if he brings her back, and a black one, if she remains behind. Isolde follows the messenger; the white sail waves from the ship; but the other Isolde, named the white-handed, brings to Tristan, through jealousy, the false report that a black sail is mounted. At this news, Tristan sinks back in despair, his heart breaks, and his beloved, who had been hastening to him, falls senseless upon his corpse.[1] Both

her chastity. A burlesque allusion to the custom occurs in the old play of the "Jovial Crew."—ED.

[1] See the metrical version of Sir Tristrem, edited by Sir W. Scott, p. 315, and the notes to that curious poem.—ED.

were laid together in one grave, and over Tristan's body was planted a vine, over Isolde's a rose-bush, and these grew one into the other, and could not again be separated. Here, also, love would have conquered all impediments, had not chance or malice had the power to create an error with regard to the beloved object; and hereby the lovers perished, not so much by means of the external world as by means of themselves. The coincidence of this with the preceding stories, already considered, is self-evident: the sail may be compared with the extinguished torch in Hero and Leander; and the white-handed Isolde with the "lewd nun" who blows out the candles in the German ballad. The story of Tristan and Isolde has also this external resemblance with that of Romeo and Juliet, that Isolde, like Juliet, dies of grief on the body of her lover, while Thisbe and Hero put an end to their existence by suicide. But this is wholly accidental, for, in truth, distress destroys both Thisbe and Hero, as it had already slain the lovers entangled in the unhappy error, Romeo, Tristan, Pyramus, and (if our formerly mentioned theory as to the extinguished torch be tenable) Leander also, though some of them anticipated its effect by suicide.

How popular, also, and universally prevalent is the story which expresses the above thought,[1] is shown (among other proofs) by a tolerably widely-circulated "people's book," entitled "The remarkable history of the Imperial Austrian officer, Herr von Friesland, and of the Lady Theresa von Hartenstein, which happened at Prague in the year 1819—Berlin, Zürngibel," where the same result is found, without any visible external derivation.

[1] This subject might be extended to an indefinite length, and illustrated by references to English stories; but not being quite as enthusiastic as the author, or so well able of bearing in mind the remote connexion between the tales and Shakespeare's drama, perhaps it will be better to pass them over with the remark that English readers will, in general, fail to see the utility of tracing out these very remote resemblances.—Ed.

If the above analysis, however, has shown the coincidence of the four best known love-stories in their most essential points, we must not, on that account, refer them to the same original, nor suspect an external operation of one upon the other. We must rather explain the common features from the idea previously mentioned, which binds all these stories. Doubtless, an unprejudiced consideration of related stories would lead, in the greater number of cases, to a similar result, and would far oftener show an inward connexion, through a common thought, than an outward one, through tradition and relation; though this last case may often occur, and not unfrequently both may act in concert.

With regard to Shakespeare, the comparison we have instituted shows that the story handed down to him, though it was represented simply and unworthily enough in the state in which he received it, yet had in itself an infinitely high value; for it expressed an imperishable true thought, in a highly poetical manner. That Shakespeare's treatment first gave full right to this story, and surrounded it with the lustre in which it deserved to shine, redounds so much to the praise of the poet, that we need not have recourse to improbable conjectures to palliate his close adherence in his tragedy to the material already provided. For instance, according to A. W. von Schlegel, Shakespeare knew only Arthur Brooke's wretched[1] metrical version of our story, ("The tragical history of Romeus and Juliet, 1562," newly published, 1582; reprinted in the edition of Johnson and Steevens); according to others, only this and the translation of Painter, in the second volume of "The Palace of Pleasure." Arthur Brooke,

[1] Mr. Collier, who has reprinted this poem in his Shakespeare's Library, has a very different opinion of its value as a literary composition. He says it is a production of singular beauty for the time, full of appropriate and graceful imagery. The only notice of the edition of 1582 or 1583 is found in the Registers of the Stationers' Company. No copy bearing that date appears to be known.—Ed.

like Painter, took his materials from Boisteau's work, continued by Belleforest, *Histoires Tragiques, extraites de* [sic] *œuvres Italiennes du Bandel;* and Boisteau again, as the title of his work intimates, copied from Bandello, but he made many variations from his original. Though Shakespeare has most of these variations, in common with Painter, a list of which would only fatigue the reader, (Eschenberg has collected them all) yet we must not conclude, with Dunlop and others, that Shakespeare was unacquainted with the works of Bandello; he might have given the preference to these variations from reasons of art, as Schlegel has shown from this very circumstance. Above all things, we have been lately compelled to give up the English notion of Shakespeare's ignorance. If he was no man of learning, (and he would have mistaken his calling had he sought to become such) yet he lived in a time and at a court where literary cultivation and knowledge of languages were much extended, and a spirit like his, so surrounded, could not remain behind. Even at this day, he would have passed for a well-educated man. He knew Latin currently; was not wholly unacquainted with Greek; and was fully versed in Italian, (at the court of Queen Elizabeth, this was unavoidable); and of his knowledge of French, which was then a rarity, no one can doubt, who has read his Henry V. We do not know how it was with Spanish,[1] but it is probable that he understood this language also. We could bring proof for this conjecture, but we leave this for a more able hand, referring our readers to Ludwig Tieck's anxiously expected work on Shakespeare and the old English theatre. To give only a small proof of Shakespeare's

[1] One of the comedies of Lopez de Vega, *Los Castelvies y Monteses*, was founded upon the same story as Romeo and Juliet; but the Spanish dramatist has evidently borrowed his tale from Bandello, and has changed the names of the characters. The catastrophe, also, is altered. Another play in the same language, by Don Francisco de Roxas, called *Los Vandos de Verona*, is formed on the same relation.—Ed.

knowledge of Italian, we may remark that the exquisitely beautiful words in which Romeo first addresses Juliet, at the masked ball, and her reply, contain an allusion to his name, which signifies *a pilgrim*; a fact which many a one does not know who is yet familiar with Italian.[1] Probably Romeo visited the feast of the Capulets in a pilgrim's dress; but even without this aid, Shakespeare might rely upon his hearers understanding the allusion; the *idea* of a pilgrim was not yet so remote, that they should be ignorant of the word for one.

We do not know whether Shakespeare was acquainted with the *novella* of Luigi da Porto; it is probable that he was; but we cannot, with Voss, make our conclusion from the circumstance that in this *novella* the death of certain friends provokes Romeo to attack Tybalt, as in Shakespeare the death of Mercutio gives occasion to this attack.

Of the value of the *novella* of Bandello, in a literary point of view, we say nothing; compared with Shakespeare's treatment of the same subject, it must fail. But however small may be its merits, its style deserves the preference over that of Luigi da Porto, who seems to have had still less feeling of the power of love, which yet the *novella* ought to set forth. The delay of the lovers till they have removed every impedi-

[1] If the play mentioned by Brooke should ever be discovered, we shall perhaps ascertain whether the incident here referred to was Shakespeare's own idea. We cannot doubt that Romeo appeared in a pilgrim's dress. See the first conversation between the lovers in act i., sc. 5. It is a circumstance worthy of remark, in reference to the observation made in the text on the probability that the exact meaning of *romeo* is not known to many well read Italian scholars, that the Quarterly Review, in a recent number, absolutely denied the fact that *romeo* did mean a pilgrim. Mr. Talbot suggests whether the term may not be connected with the Latin comic name of *Dromio*. The same writer adds, "English Etymologies," p. 403, "*Juliet* is properly the diminutive of Julia; but it has apparently united itself with another name, *Juliet*, or *Joliette*, the diminutive of *Jolie*, pretty."—ED.

ment, and their resolving, *at last*, to give love its just due, are here intolerable. If the Italians prefer the story of Luigi, this preference is grounded solely upon the greater polish of his language.

Note by the Editor.

Bandello's novel was translated into French by Boisteau, and from the latter into English, in Paynter's "Palace of Pleasure." This last production, and Arthur Brooke's poem, both of which are reprinted in Mr. Collier's Shakespeare's Library, must be referred to by those who are desirous of tracing the originals of Shakespeare's drama. There are too many coincidences of incidents and expressions to leave any doubt but that the great poet must have been well acquainted with these works. We need not suppose he took the black-letter volumes with him to the Mermaid or Boar's Head, and, dragging them from his pocket, meditated a tragedy over a quart of sack. Such would be a "mechanical salt-butter" opinion, worthy only the most prosaic critic. There is no improbability in the suggestion that Brooke and Paynter, the Bulwer and Scott of their day, had been read by Shakespeare in Henley Street, and that the stories had made sufficient impression on his retentive memory to enable us to account for the verbal similarities between the poem and the drama. The beautiful structure Shakespeare has created from these insipid novels creates a greater surprise, after their perusal, than would be experienced by a reader who was unacquainted with the poet's sources, and regarded the plot as an invention. Some have dared to say that the catastrophe would have been improved, had he followed the original of Luigi da Porto, instead of the English version of Bandello; but surely the drama is sufficiently adapted in its conduct to the tale on which it is founded. The reader may, however, be interested in the conclusion of the Italian tale, which, *as a novel*, is certainly superior to Paynter or Boisteau. The Giulietta of Luigi da Porto ends as follows:—

"So favourable was fortune to this his last purpose, that, on the evening of the day subsequent to the lady's funeral, undiscovered by any, he entered Verona, and there awaited the coming of night; and now, perceiving that all was silent, he betook himself to the monastery of the Minor Friars, where was the vault. The church where these monks then dwelt was in the citadel, though since, for what reason I know not, they have transferred their habitation to the Borgo di S. Zeno, in that place,

which is now called Santo Bernardino; yet it is certain that their former mansion had been inhabited by Saint Francis himself. Near the walls of this church, on the outside, were at that time certain buildings, such as we usually see adjoining to churches, one of which was the ancient sepulchre of the Capelletti family, and in this the fair damsel had been deposited. At this place, about four hours after midnight, Romeo being arrived, and having, as a man of superior strength, by force raised the stone which covered the vault, and, with certain wedges, which he had brought with him for that purpose, having so propped it that it could not be fastened down contrary to his desire, he entered, and reclosed the entrance.

"The unhappy youth, that he might behold his lady, had brought with him a dark lantern, which, after closing the vault, he drew forth, and opened; and there, amidst the bones and fragments of many dead bodies, he beheld the fair Julietta lying as if dead. Whence suddenly breaking out into a flood of tears, he thus began: 'O, eyes, which, while it pleased the heavens, were to my eyes the brightest lights! O, lips, by me a thousand times so sweetly kissed, and from whence were heard the words of wisdom! O, beauteous breast, in which my heart rejoiced to dwell!—where do I now find you, blind, mute, and cold? how, without you, do I see, do I speak, do I live? Alas! my miserable lady, whither hast thou been conducted by that love, whose will it now is that this narrow space shall both destroy and lodge two wretched lovers! Ah, me! an end like this my hope promised not, nor that desire which first inflamed me with love for you! O, unfortunate life, why do I support you!' And so saying, he covered with kisses her eyes, her lips, her breast, bursting every instant into more abundant lamentation: in the midst of which he cried, 'O, ye walls which hang over me, why do you not render my life still more short, by crushing me in your ruin? But since death is at all times in our power, it is dastardly to desire it, and not to snatch it:' and, with these words, he drew forth from his sleeve the vial of deadly poison, which he had there concealed, and thus proceeded: 'I know not what destiny conducts me to die in the midst of my enemies, of those by me slain, and in their sepulchre; but since, O, my soul, thus near my love it delights us to die, here let us die!' and, approaching to his lips the mortal draught, he received it entire into his bosom; when, embracing the beloved maid, and strongly straining her to his breast, he cried—'O, thou beauteous body, the utmost limit of all my desires, if, after the soul is departed, any sentiment yet remains in you, or, if that soul now beholds my cruel fate, let it not be displeasing to you that,

unable to live with you joyfully and openly, at the least I should die with you sadly and secretly;'—and holding the body straitly embraced, he awaited death.

"The hour was now arrived when, by the natural heat of the damsel, the cold and powerful effects of the powder should have been overcome, and when she should awake; and accordingly, embraced and violently agitated by Romeo, she awoke in his arms, and starting into life, after a heavy sigh, she cried, 'Alas! where am I? who is it thus embraces me? by whom am I thus kissed?' and, believing it was the Friar Lorenzo, she exclaimed, 'Do you thus, O friar, keep your faith with Romeo? is it thus you safely conduct me to him?' Romeo, perceiving the lady to be alive, wondered exceedingly, and thinking perhaps on Pygmalion, he said, 'Do you not know me, O, my sweet lady? See you not that I am your wretched spouse, secretly and alone come from Mantua to perish by you?' Julietta, seeing herself in the monument, and perceiving that she was in the arms of one who called himself Romeo, was well nigh out of her senses, and pushing him a little from her, and gazing on his face, she instantly knew him, and embracing, gave him a thousand kisses, saying, 'What folly has excited you, with such imminent danger, to enter here? Was it not sufficient to have understood by my letters how I had contrived, with the help of Friar Lorenzo, to feign death, and that I should shortly have been with you?' The unhappy youth, then perceiving this fatal mistake, thus began: 'O, miserable lot! O, wretched Romeo! O, by far the most afflicted of all lovers! On this subject never have I received your letters!' And he then proceeded to inform her how Pietro had given him intelligence of her pretended death, as if it had been real; whence, believing her dead, he had, in order to accompany her in death, even there, close by her, taken the poison, which, as most subtle, he already felt had sent forth death through all his limbs.

"The unfortunate damsel, hearing this, remained so overpowered with grief, that she could do nothing but tear her lovely locks, and beat and bruise her innocent breast; and at length to Romeo, who already lay supine, kissing him often, and pouring over him a flood of tears, more pale than ashes, and trembling all over, she thus spoke: 'Must you, then, O, lord of my heart, must you then die in my presence, and through my means! and will the heavens permit that I should survive you, though but for a moment? Wretched me! O, that I could at least transfer my life to you, and die alone!' To which, with a languid voice, the youth replied: 'If ever my faith and my love were dear to you, live, O, my best hope! by these I conjure you, that after my death, life should

not be displeasing to you, if for no other reason, at least that you may think on him, who, penetrated with passion, for your sake, and before your dear eyes, now perishes!' To this the damsel answered: 'If for my pretended death you now die, what ought I to do for yours, which is real! It only grieves me that here, in your presence, I have not the means of death, and, inasmuch as I survive you, I detest myself! yet still will I hope, that ere long, as I have been the cause, so shall I be the companion of your death.' And, having with difficulty spoken these words, she fainted, and, again returning to life, busied herself in sad endeavours to gather with her sweet lips the extreme breath of her dearest lover, who now hastily approached his end.

"In this interval, Friar Lorenzo had been informed how and when the damsel had drunk the potion, as also that, upon a supposition of her death, she had been buried; and, knowing that the time was now arrived when the powder should cease to operate, taking with him a trusty companion, about an hour before day he came to the vault; where being arrived, he heard the cries and lamentations of the lady, and, through a crevice in the cover, seeing a light within, he was greatly surprised, and imagined that, by some means or other, the damsel had contrived to convey with her a lamp into the tomb; and that now, having awaked, she wept and lamented, either through fear of the dead bodies by which she was surrounded, or perhaps from the apprehension of being for ever immured in this dismal place; and having, with the assistance of his companion, speedily opened the tomb, he beheld Julietta, who, with hair all dishevelled, and sadly grieving, had raised herself so far as to be seated, and had taken into her lap her dying lover. To her he thus addressed himself: 'Did you then fear, O, my daughter, that I should have left you to die here enclosed?' And she, seeing the friar, and redoubling her lamentations, answered: 'Far from it; my only fear is that you will drag me hence alive! Alas! for the love of God, away, and close the sepulchre, that I may here perish—or rather reach me a knife, that, piercing my breast, I may rid myself of my woes! O, my father, my father! is it thus you have sent me the letter? Are these my hopes of happy marriage? Is it thus you have conducted me to my Romeo? Behold him here, in my bosom, already dead!' And, pointing to him, she recounted all that had passed. The friar, hearing these things, stood as one bereft of sense, and, gazing upon the young man, then ready to pass from this into another life, bitterly weeping, he called to him, saying, 'O, Romeo, what hard hap has torn you from me! Speak to me at least! Cast your eyes a moment upon me! O, Romeo, behold your dearest Julietta, who

beseeches you to look at her. Why, at the least, will you not answer her in whose dear bosom you lie?' At the beloved name of his mistress, Romeo raised a little his languid eyes, weighed down by the near approach of death, and, looking at her, reclosed them; and, immediately after, death thrilling through his whole frame, all convulsed, and heaving a short sigh, he expired.

"The miserable lover being now dead, in the manner I have related, as the day was already approaching, after much lamentation, the friar thus addressed the young damsel: 'And you, Julietta, what do you mean to do?' To which she instantly replied, 'Here enclosed will I die.'—'Say not so, daughter,' said he: 'come forth from hence; for, though I know not well how to dispose of you, the means cannot be wanting of shutting yourself up in some holy monastery, where you may continually offer your supplications to God, as well for yourself as for your deceased husband, if he should need your prayers.'—'Father,' replied the lady, 'one favour alone I entreat of you, which, for the love you bear to the memory of him'—and so saying, she pointed to Romeo—'you will willingly grant me; and that is, that you will never make known our death, that so our bodies may for ever remain united in this sepulchre: and if, by any accident, the manner of our dying should be discovered, by the love already mentioned, I conjure you, that in both our names you would implore our miserable parents that they should make no difficulty of suffering those whom love has consumed in one fire, and conducted to one death, to remain in one and the same tomb.' Then, turning to the prostrate body of Romeo, whose head she had placed on a pillow which had been left with her in the vault, having carefully closed his eyes, and bathing his cold visage with tears, 'Lord of my heart,' said she, 'without you, what should I do with life? and what more remains to be done by me toward you but to follow you in death? Certainly, nothing more! in order that death itself, which alone could possibly have separated you from me, should not now be able to part us!' And having thus spoken, reflecting upon the horror of her destiny, and calling to mind the loss of her dear lover, determined no longer to live, she suppressed her respiration, and for a long space holding in her breath, at length sent it forth with a loud cry, and fell dead upon the dead body."

II. THE STORY OF HAMLET.

The relation given in Saxo's Danish History must be considered as the original and oldest source of Shakespeare's Hamlet, though the poet may have been more immediately indebted to an older tragedy on the same subject, ascribed to Thomas Kyd,[1] and from an English tale which appeared several times in a separate form, under the title, "The Hystorie of Hamblet,"[2] 4to., which was immediately taken from Belleforest's Tragical Relations, the fifth volume of which contains it, under the title, *Avec qu'elle ruse Amleth qui depuis fuit Roi de Dannemark vengea la mort de son pere Horvendille, occis par Fengou, son frère, et autre occurrence de son histoire.* The English relation which Shakespeare had in his view had probably received many arbitrary additions; for, according to Capell, all the chief circumstances and the most important characters of the tragedy lie in the germ, as it were, in this

[1] This is mere conjecture. If, as is most probable, an older play on the subject of Hamlet existed at the time when Shakespeare wrote his tragedy, we have no evidence whatever that will lead us to believe it was written by Kyd.—Ed.

[2] The only perfect copy of this work known to exist was published at London in 1608, and has been reprinted by Mr. Collier. The original is preserved in Capell's rich collection, in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, and was procured by him from the collection of the Duke of Newcastle. I have seen a fragment of this rare book, which, as far as one can offer an opinion, without comparing it with the perfect copy, appeared to be earlier than the date above mentioned. Dr. Farmer had only two leaves of the book, not an imperfect copy, as stated by Mr. Collier.—Ed.

story:[1] an assertion which could hardly be made of the original relation of Saxo-Grammaticus.

Yet, even in this last named author, we can distinguish the figures out of which Shakespeare has formed some of his characters. Horatio, Hamlet's fellow-student at Wittenberg, may be recognised in the foster-brother of the Prince; Polonius, in the bold courtier; and Ophelia in the young lady. The last passage may serve for a confirmation of Tieck's well known opinion respecting Hamlet's relation to Ophelia. The companions of Hamlet, in his journey to England, appear in Shakespeare as Rosenkranz and Guildenstern.

We have not succeeded in finding the origin of the interlude which Hamlet causes to be represented in the second scene of the third act, before his uncle. That there is such a source[2] may be suspected from Hamlet's own words:—"The piece is the representation of a murder which happened in Vienna: Gonzago is the name of the Duke, his consort Battista; the history is extant, and is written in choice Italian." This, to be sure, may be merely a pretence, which Shakespeare makes Hamlet use, to conceal the allusion to his uncle; but the mode of Gonzago's death, by poison dropped into his ear during sleep, does not occur in Saxo, and our great dramatist may certainly have taken this circumstance from an Italian story now lost to us. Shakespeare knew that Battista is a man's name, as is proved by the list of the Dramatis Per-

[1] I fear that Capell's words have been misinterpreted; for, with a trifling exception, the tale of Saxo-Grammaticus furnishes the same particulars as the novel of Belleforest.—Ed.

[2] In a play called "A Warning for fair Women," supposed, by Mr. Collier, to have been written before 1590, it is stated that a woman who had murdered her husband witnessed a tragedy acted at Lynn, in Norfolk, which expressed a similar crime so perfectly, she was conscience-stricken, and confessed the transaction she had been guilty of. Heywood, in his "Apology for Actors," 1612, relates the affair more circumstantially. Perhaps some of our Norfolk antiquaries will be able to tell us whether it has any foundation in truth.—Ed.

sonæ of the "Taming of the Shrew;" but that it may be a woman's name, also, seems not to have been noticed by those English critics, who thence deduce Shakespeare's ignorance of the Italian language.

The Hamlet of Shakespeare has been compared with the Orestes of Æschylus and Sophocles, in order to develop the difference between the modern and ancient world. The resemblance rests in the similar external action; as in the Greek play, the mother is married to the murderer of the father, whom the son avenges upon both. In Hamlet, as in Orestes, is found the incident of madness, with the difference that Orestes is tormented by the furies for a deed pitilessly done from the impulse of feeling; whilst Hamlet, who can never actually approach the deed, owing to the sense of justice which keeps him weighing its propriety, is driven to madness by his irresolution. Hamlet is the reverse of Orestes; consideration comes to him *before* the deed, to Orestes *after:* the furies follow him for having acted too tardily; Orestes, for having acted too hastily. In Hamlet, feeling punishes consideration, because it had delayed the execution which feeling demanded; in Orestes, consideration punishes feeling, because feeling had hastened the deed which he disapproved. It is remarkable that in some representations of the story of Orestes and Clytemnestra, we meet with such a net as Hamlet makes use of to destroy the partisans of his uncle. Clytemnestra's words, in Æschylus—

> "I did it, and will not deny my deed,
> So that no flight and no defence remained:
> First round his limbs I threw an endless coil,
> Garment of misery, like a fisher's net;
> Twice then I struck him; twice he groan'd and fell,
> His limbs all palsied; as he lay, I struck
> The third and fatal blow"—

Do not correspond with those of Homer's Agamemnon, Odyssey, xi., v. 417-420—

"But most of all thy heart would there have grieved,
Where by the goblets and the loaded board
We lay, and all the pavement swam in blood."

If both relations are taken together, Clytemnestra revenged the sacrifice of Iphigenia by the same stratagem as Hamlet employed in avenging the death of his father. The fishing-net appears here specially as a symbol of deceit.

The *Amleth* of Saxo-Grammaticus merely pretends madness,[1] to gain time for carrying out his finely-woven stratagem; but of his eventual success he is certain. The Hamlet of Shakespeare suffers from the madness which he counterfeits, but he has no plan, and therefore no hope of success; and this sense of inactivity, in the face of every challenge to action, drives him to actual insanity. Here, also, Shakespeare has deserted the fiction, and invented something new, the idea of the play being quite different from that of the popular story. The results, also, are different; for Amleth perfects his stratagem, and retires triumphantly from the contest; but Hamlet falls a victim to his inactivity at the moment when a higher power is acting through him. The germ of this alteration lays only so far in the story, that Amleth had sufficient coolness to defer his revenge; and it is Hamlet's want of passion which gives his reflection too great preponderance over the impulses of nature.

Belleforest has already remarked the resemblance between Amleth and Brutus; and he mentions also a parallel[2] between Amleth and David, because the latter also counterfeited madness. This latter instance is a mere accidental coincidence

[1] "Falsitatis enim (Hamlethus) alienus haberi cupidus, ita astutiam veriloquio permiscebat, ut nec dictis veracitas deesset, nec acuminis modus verorum judicio proderetur." M. Simrock appears to underrate the method of Hamlet's madness.—ED.

[2] He scarcely goes so far as to institute any parallelism between the characters. David is merely cursorily introduced, as a sort of illustrative remark on the counterfeited madness of Amleth.—ED.

in a single circumstance, which does not warrant us in assuming an internal or external connexion. As little does Tristan belong to this part of our subject, though he profited by his assumed madness to take vengeance on his enemies. On the contrary, Amleth and Brutus are very nearly connected. We shall best give the proof for this in the words of Niebuhr:—

"The King sent two of his sons, Titus and Aruns, to Delphi, to consult the oracle; sending with them, as a companion and subject of derision, L. Junius, who, for his assumed stupidity, was called Brutus. This was a son of a sister of the King, a child when he caused his elder brother, with many others, to be put to death on a false accusation, that he might possess himself of his riches. As Junius grew up, he saved his life by the continuous stratagem of representing himself as idiotic; and prepared for his revenge by the unshaken patience with which he permitted himself to be mocked as a fool. Thus he dedicated to the god what seemed to be the offering of a fool, a staff of cornel wood; but which, *as an image of his secret*, was filled with gold. The princes questioned the Pythian God for themselves also. 'He of you will rule at Rome,' answered the Pythoness, 'who first kisses his mother.' The sons of Tarquin decided this between them by lot; Brutus ran like an idiot down the mountain, so that he fell down and pressed with his lips the earth, in the middle point of which lay the temple of Apollo, as its original sanctuary."

According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Tarquinius had also put to death the father of Brutus and his eldest son, Brutus's brother, because this youth, who showed a great mind, would not have left his father's death unavenged. Whichever account we follow, vengeance for blood determined Brutus, like Amleth, to pretend insanity; both have suffered the same wrong, have the same purpose, and make use of the same means. That Amleth has claims upon the throne, which are wanting in Brutus, is unimportant to the argument; for Amleth is impelled far more by the desire and duty of revenge than by the love of rule. In addition to

this, however, Brutus also takes the sceptre from the aggressive party, and bears it himself, but in another right. The original narrative must be freed from the alterations which it underwent, when it became fixed as a portion of history. The story of Amleth has been taken into the Danish, that of Brutus into the Roman history. This could not happen without more or less changing their form. If we are not mistaken, both stories were wholly alike before they were woven into history; but the connexion with the history of two different countries necessarily occasioned an adaptation to different relations; but that both forms of the story were founded upon one ancient popular story, is rendered probable, amongst other things, by the cornel staff filled with gold,[1] which Brutus offers to the oracle as a symbol of his own mind and being. Such symbols occur frequently in fictions and popular stories; and we have already noticed in Romeo and Juliet the tendency of the unconscious popular poetry to such emblematical representations. It is startling to find this gold-filled staff again in Amleth; though here its symbolical signification is less clearly exhibited. Amleth has had the money which he received as expiation for the murder of his companions melted and poured into hollow sticks; and when he is asked, at his return, where his companions have stayed, he shows the hollow sticks which he has brought back with them. Here, also, the hollow staff stands in nearer relation to the dire vengeance which forms the turning point of the story; but its emblematic meaning thereby loses in clearness, because it is no longer employed to signify before the god the essence of the hero. Amleth's journey to England, and that of Brutus to Delphi, had probably a common foundation in the original story, before the latter was com-

[1] English readers will, I fear, consider portions of this discussion irrelevant to Shakespearian criticism. The primary sources of this incident may illustrate Saxo-Grammaticus, but the wildest commentator would not introduce them into an essay on Shakespeare's play.—Ed.

pelled to accommodate itself to history; but yet we are not obliged to assume an actual tradition, to account for the resemblance between the two stories, although this explanation might appear the most natural. Similar causes produce similar effects; and in the primitive time when fiction arose, the most distant nations have much in common. Thus vengeance for blood is common to the traditions of all early nations, and this compels the injured to conceal his natural spirit, that he may not fall a sacrifice to the crime which duty and feeling call upon him to avenge. This counterfeiting a senseless character can in no place be more clearly expressed than by the image of a wooden staff, whose interior conceals gold; and thus we must not be surprised if the same thought form for itself a similar image, however remote may be the time and place.

The suspicion might be raised that Saxo-Grammaticus, who was not only acquainted with Livy, but imitated him, had borrowed the gold-filled staff, and perhaps also the madness of Amleth, from his model, and thus have himself first introduced a portion of the resemblance. But this supposition is repelled by the consistency of all the features of his story which stand in connexion with Amleth's fictitious madness. The influence which Livy had upon his account is clearly to be traced, but it shows itself only in the *form* of the narrative. In the *substance* of it, he suffers the stream of tradition to flow unadulterated. The story of the staff filled with gold is not so presented as to render it probable that he borrowed from Livy. We meet with many traits in Saxo's story which occur again in other popular tales. Thus a change in the Urias letters, as here in the Rune tablets, is so frequent in well known German and Italian tales, that it is needless to make any more particular reference to it. Many of the proofs which Amleth gives of his wisdom are in fact only evidence of acuteness of the senses—more a characteristic of an animal than a man. But it is in accordance with

the opinion of old time, when the story sets forth wisdom as an acuteness of the senses; as, indeed, our German word for mental acuteness has its origin in this physical conception. Thus the seven wise masters, to convince themselves whether their pupil, Diocletianus, had learned any thing in his seven years' instruction, lay an ivy leaf under each foot of his bed;[1] and when he wakes, he looks with astonishment at the coverlet, and cries—"Either the roof of the chamber has sunk during the night, or the earth has risen." Of this kind are the proofs of wisdom which Hamlet gives to the King of England, finding fault with his food for a circumstance which, on examination, is found to be the truth. In the story of the two connoisseurs in wine, to this day a popular jest, one maintains that the wine tastes of iron; the other, of leather: on examination, a key is found at the bottom of the vessel, tied to a leathern thong. When Amleth finally suspects the purity of the King's descent, and notes also servile manners in the queen (manners betraying a menial

[1] This story is very amusingly told in the early English metrical version of the Seven Wise Masters:—

"The child yede to bedde anight,
And ros arliche amorewen aplight.
Hise maistres him bifore stode,
Open hefd, withouten hode.
The child lokede here and tar,
Up and doun, and everiwhar.
Hise maistres askede what him was.
'Parfai!' he seide, 'a ferli cas!
Other ich am of wine dronke,
Other the firmament is i-sonke,
Other wexen is the grounde
The thickness of four leves rounde;
So muche to-night heyer I lai,
Certes, thanne yisterdai.'"

I quote from Weber's edition, Met. Rom., iii., 10, 11. Mr. Wright has edited an early version for the Percy Society, accompanied with an interesting introduction on the sources of the tales.—Ed.

origin) popular story again offers many analogies. For example, in the German Popular Stories, (Grimm, ii., 127) the supposititious princesses are discovered by their menial discourse (cf. iii., 220). In an old Walloon story, (*Alt: Wälder*, i., 69) the shape of an amputated finger betrays the coarse labour of the waiting-maid, who has been substituted for a King's daughter; and in the *Volsunga Saga*, ch. 21, when Queen Hiordys, Sigurd's mother, has changed clothes with her waiting-maid, King Alf asks them the question, "How do you women know when day is breaking, and night passing away, when there is no star in the sky?" The serving-maid answered, "In my youth, I was wont to drink mead in the early morning, and since I ran away from my home, we wake early for that cause, and that is my token." The King smiles, and says, "That is an evil custom for a King's daughter." When the same question was addressed to Hiordys, she replied—"My father gave me a little gold ring, with the property of growing cold on my finger in the early morning; and that is my token at night." Alf knows now how matters stand, and marries Hiordys.

In the *Cento Novelle antichi*, ed. Manni, a sage recognises that a horse has been suckled with asses' milk; that a jewel has a worm in it; and that the King is the son of a baker: an examination of the first two points shows the justice of the conjecture; and at last the mother of the King confesses the truth of the last assertion. Though the further course of the story shows that the sage discovered all this more by observation and reasoning than by corporeal perception, still there remains a striking resemblance to Amleth's proofs of wisdom. The story, also, of the King and his son, in the Arabian Nights, (xv., 28, 3rd night of the Vizier) coincides with this in all its features. In the second part of the story of Amleth, the action is reversed, and Amleth himself becomes the object of vengeance. We confine ourselves here to the part which may serve for a comparison with Shake-

speare. The writer has kept as closely as possible to the original,[1] not even omitting the repetitions in the speech of Hamlet, by which, perhaps, Saxo meant to express the youth's irrepressible desire of vengeance, and that long stifled rage which, when once allowed to break out, can no longer govern itself. It may not be uninteresting to remark how the ancient *naïve* tale looks under the treatment of a writer of the middle ages, who prided himself no little on his acquired classical cultivation and learning. It is known that Göthe had formed the purpose of treating the story of Amleth freely from Saxo-Grammaticus; and certainly the tale is capable and deserving of a treatment differing from that which it could receive from Shakespeare, whose higher purposes justified him in taking that part only which he could make subservient to them.[2]

[1] M. Simrock here refers to the collection of Echtermeyer, who has translated the story of Saxo-Grammaticus into German. *Quellen des Shakspeare*, 1831, i., 67.—Ed.

[2] Mr. Collier, (Hist. Dram. Poet., iii., 210) notices some slight similarities between Kyd's "Spanish Tragedy" and Shakespeare's tragedy of Hamlet; but I do not know how far this circumstance may have led to the random conjecture that Kyd was the author of the "old Hamlet," always supposing there was such a play; for Mr. Knight thinks it likely Shakespeare was the only writer who dramatised the tale. In Kyd's play, says Mr. Collier, "the old father is always meditating the punishment of the guilty, and always postponing the execution of his project; so that, in this respect, his character in some degree resembles that of Hamlet: the insertion of a play within a play gives the whole tragedy a still greater appearance of similarity to that of Shakespeare." Perhaps a discovery will some day be made which may tend to elucidate this subject.—Ed.

III. MEASURE FOR MEASURE.

Giraldi Cinthio's *Hecatommithi ovvero cento novelle*, &c., appeared first in 1565 at Monteregale, in Sicily, 2 parts, 8vo., and in a more complete form in 1566, at Venice, in one volume, 4to.[1] In this edition, as well as in that which appeared at Venice in 1593, in two quarto volumes, the Shakesperian tale is the fifth of the eighth decade which treats of Ingratitude. Giraldi himself has brought the substance of it upon the stage, under the name *Epitia;* and the sources of all his dramatic works, consisting of six tragedies, may be found in his *Hecatommithi.* It is uncertain whether Shakespeare had seen the story of Cinthio; but we have no grounds for denying it, unless we recur to the opinion that he was ignorant of the Italian language. It is, however, certain that, if he was not acquainted with Italian, the substance of the tale was accessible to him through the twofold labours of Whetstone. This author published, in 1582, a collection of stories under the title of *Heptameron,* in which he included a translation of this story of Cinthio; but he had also treated the same matter dramatically four years earlier. This piece, noticed in the "Six old plays on which Shakespeare founded,"[2]

[1] And again at Venice, 2 parts, 4to., 1584. The first edition is very rare; there is a copy in the Bodleian Library. Steevens has reprinted the play of Promos and Cassandra, founded by Whetstone on Cinthio's novel, and Mr. Collier has judiciously included the prose tale from the Heptameron, 1582, in his Shakespeare's Library, vol. ii. Both these sources being thus so readily accessible, I have not thought it requisite to add much annotation to this chapter.—ED.

[2] Published by J. Nichols, at the suggestion of Steevens, in 1779. The play of "Promos and Cassandra" should be consulted by the reader, as

&c., bears the title, "The right excellent and famous Historye of Promos and Cassandra, divided into commical discourses. In the fyrste parte is showne the unsufferable abuse of a lewde Magistrate, the vertuous behaviours of a chaste ladye, the uncontrowled leawdenes of a favoured curtisan, and the undeserved estimation of a pernicious parasyte. In the second parte is discoursed the perfect magnanimitye of a noble Kinge, in checking vice and favouringe vertue, wherein is showne the ruyne and overthrowe of dishonest practises, and the advauncement of upright dealing."

Slight as the value of this piece may be, we find in it the deviation from Cinthio's novel which Shakespeare adopted—that Vieo, whom Whetstone makes Andrugio, and Shakespeare Claudio, is not in reality put to death, though the governor has given his order for it. In other respects, however, Whetstone does not differ essentially from Cinthio; so that the many excellent alterations which are met with in Shakespeare's "Measure for Measure" are solely due to the poet's invention. Amongst these we include the deciding circumstance that the Duke of Vienna (in the story, the Emperor Maximilian) is always present, disguised as a monk, and leads the whole action, undiscovered, to a happy termination. The introduction of the betrothed of Angelo, who keeps the promise given by Isabella in her place, and thenceforward plays the part of Epitia in the tale, while Isabella preserves her chastity, and is married to the Duke, is another

in all probability the *immediate* source of Shakespeare's play. It is dedicated to Fleetwood, the Recorder of London, in an address which deserves a careful perusal. Speaking of plays, he says—"The Englishman, in this quality, is most vain, indiscreet, and out of order: he first grounds his work on impossibilities, then in three hours runs he through the world, marries, gets children, makes children men, men to conquer kingdoms, murder monsters, and bringeth gods from heaven, and fetcheth devils from hell." He proceeds to say that all decorum is sacrificed to effect, and observes it was usual to bring clowns on the stage as companions for kings.—ED.

equally great improvement of Shakespeare's. Remarkable is the art with which he has so contrived to weave in these alterations, that at the same time the original course of the novel is kept in the consciousness of Angelo; for he believes to the end that he has broken the law with Isabella, and caused her brother to be put to death, as the novel relates it. Hence Isabella also makes the same complaint against him, before the Duke, on his entrance, as Epitia makes against Juriste, in the story. One might conclude, from this circumstance being retained with the alteration, that Shakespeare had been acquainted with the tale of Cinthio,[1] were it not that the story of Whetstone, in the *Heptameron*, was precisely similar in its form.

The alteration of Whetstone, according to which the life of the condemned is preserved, though adopted by Shakespeare from him, is, in accordance with Shakespeare's purpose, turned to a different end. In Whetstone, Promos (Angelo) has ordered the gaoler to bring to Cassandra (Isabella, Epitia) the head of her brother. The gaoler, however, out of compassion for Andrugio, brought her the disfigured head of a malefactor who had been executed shortly before, and which Cassandra cannot distinguish from that of her brother. In Shakespeare, on the contrary, it is the governor who has ordered the execution who is deceived by the substituted head; and this departure from one tradition is fully in accordance with others. The circumstance is continually occurring in popular stories that kind-hearted servants, commissioned to perform cruel acts, have contrived to deceive their masters with false tokens of the fulfilment of their commands. Equally popular, and in accordance with the stream of fiction, is the substitution, due to our poet alone, of Mariana for Isabella. Thus, to quote the best known example, in Tristan, Brangene is laid by the side of Marke, instead of Isolde. A

[1] I cannot understand this deduction. The incident is also found in Whetstone's play.—Ed.

similar incident occurs in the poem of the two merchants, *Alt: Wälder.*, i., 34) and in a modern Greek ballad (*ibid.*, ii., 181). We choose the last two examples among innumerable others, because they will both be spoken of afterwards in "Cymbeline." Shakespeare, however, must[1] have been led to this idea by the substitution of Giletta di Narbonne, instead of the lady's daughter with whom Beltram was in love, told by Boccaccio in the story which was the origin of "All's Well that ends Well." Here the circumstances are almost identical, for the substituted lady is not, as in the former examples, a maid, but the lawful wife of the object of the deceit: that Marianna is only Angelo's *betrothed* makes no essential difference.

By these alterations, in themselves so excellent, Shakespeare has given a proof how dear popular fiction was to him, and what advantages he could derive from it. And here it must not be forgotten that the world of fable and tale was in Shakespeare's time adopted by the mass of the people: it was their peculiar property; and therefore there was nothing which they more loved to see in the theatre than this reflection of its being, even though it had been cast from a mirror less artfully polished than Shakespeare's. And this may explain, also, why Shakespeare borrowed so much from popular fable, that we have been able to fill three volumes with stories that he has used for the foundations of his plays. With respect to the present story of Cinthio, however, we meet with the remarkable circumstance, that it has in itself little of the character of popular fiction, and that Shakespeare has drawn it within the compass of this kind of literature. Meanwhile, however, a few points of comparison offer themselves.

Douce, in his Illustrations of Shakespeare, i., 153, and after him Dunlop, ii., 429, have quoted a number of historical

[1] Not necessarily. The poet had a barbarous story to dramatise, and used every effort to purify it. This will account most naturally and quite sufficiently for all his variations from the original.—ED.

incidents of a similar kind, of which the most important are the following.[1] Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, compelled one of his nobles to marry a young lady for a similar offence, and ordered him to be executed immediately after. (*Lipsii monita et exempla politica, Antverp*, 1613, 4to., cap. 8.) This is the subject of a French tragedy by Antoine Marechal, *Le jugement équitable de Charles le Hardi*, 4to., 1646. Olivier le Dain, the barber and favourite of Louis the Eleventh, committed a similar crime, and expiated it with his life. Belleforest gives a story as of his own invention, which looks, however, too like that of Cinthio, to allow us to believe his assertion unconditionally. In this tale, a general seduces the wife of a soldier, under a promise to save the forfeited life of her husband, whom he shows her immediately after, through a window of the chamber, hanging on the gallows. His commander obliges him to marry the widow, and then condemns him to death. The same barbarity is attributed to the infamous Colonel Kirk, how justly is doubtful. In Goulart's *Thrésor d'histoires admirables*, &c., this circumstance is twice varied, pp. 300, 304. In Cooke's "Vindication of the Professors and Profession of the Law," 4to., 1640, p. 61, the whole story of Cinthio is related of Don Garcias, the Governor of Milan during the war between Charles V. and Francis I.; but here the dishonoured woman is the wife of the captive, and the beheading of the seducer actually takes place after the marriage with the widow. To these examples we have to add the following.

In the stories of Masuccio Salernitano it is related (iv., 7, p. 47) that the King of Sicily, the son of Don Juan of Arragon, was once staying at Vagliendoli, at the house of

[1] Omitting, however, somewhat unaccountably, the curious tale in Lupton's *Siquila*, 1580, of a woman who permits herself to be seduced by a judge, to save the life of her husband. The incident is often repeated; and a similar atrocity is asserted to have been actually committed within the last century.—Ed.

a nobleman of rank, who received and entertained him in the most festive manner. This nobleman had two beautiful daughters, and two of the King's first courtiers became enamoured of them during his stay in the house. By means of a servant girl whom they bribed, they were admitted at night into the young ladies' chamber, where they gained their wishes without awaking them. Soon, however, they were convinced of the violence which had been committed, and made their complaint to the King, their guest, against the robbers of their honour, who had meanwhile fled. He promises them satisfaction, but conceals his anger, and obliges the two courtiers to take in marriage the two injured women, giving the latter a rich dowry. When this has been done, the King goes solemnly into the judgment hall with the courtiers, and commands them to be beheaded, which is done, in spite of the remonstrances of the newly-married ladies. The King now declares them heiresses of the whole inheritance of their husbands, and marries them on the spot, without respect to the year of mourning, to two of the highest nobles of the city.

Still more terrible was the decision of the Emperor Otto, in Lombardy, (Grimm's German Stories, ii., 169) which perhaps is the foundation of Cinthio's story. A woman came to the Emperor, and made her complaint against a man who had done her violence. The King said, "I will right thee, when I return."—"My lord," said the woman, "thou wilt forget it." The King pointed to a church, and said, "This shall be my record." When the King, after a time, returned to Lamparten (Lombardy), his way led him by the church which he had shown the woman; and, ordering her to be called, he bade her make her complaint. She said, "My lord, he is now my lawful husband, and I have dear children by him." But the Emperor swore an oath, and said, "He shall taste my axe:" and he ordered that the man should be

capitally punished, according to the law. Thus he did the woman justice against her will.

In Cinthio's story, Maximilian has a similar barbarity in design, but Epitia persuades him to a better purpose. The pardon of the offender, it is true, is given, not for his own sake, but for that of his wife; but still there is always a guilt unattoned; and we are not pleased that the offender should have found such an intercessor. Shakespeare has avoided this difficulty by the smaller culpability of Angelo, and by the circumstance that neither of the crimes, the dishonour of Isabella, and the execution of her brother, against his promise, are actually committed.

IV. THE MOOR OF VENICE.

In the story just treated of, the commentators on Shakespeare considered it certain he was not acquainted with the original, because there were translations in English from which he might have derived his materials: but in the present instance, as no translation of the story can be produced so old as Shakespeare's time, recourse is had to the supposition that such a translation may have been extant, and have been since lost. Probably, it is said, there was only one edition, that this was borrowed from the French translation of the story of Cinthio made by Gabriel Chapuys, which appeared in Paris in 1584. And all these conjectures are only for the sake of persisting more conveniently in the supposition that Shakespeare was wholly ignorant of languages;[1] as if it had not been a mere recreation for such a genius to acquire such languages as Italian and French.

In the edition already cited of the stories of Cinthio, the one quoted is the seventh of the third decade. The name of Othello does not occur in it, any more than that of Iago; but, according to Steevens, they may both be found in a story in "God's revenge against Adultery," which may have been known to Shakespeare.[2] As this relation, like the play,

[1] M. Simrock here places the opinions of the commentators in somewhat too positive a light. It is quite consonant with what we know to have been Shakespeare's usage in other instances, to regard the *probability* of his having used the translations, and the *possibility* of his having employed the originals. It is not concluded that Shakespeare could not read Italian, merely because in most instances he read English versions; but this is the fallacy in many arguments on the subject.—ED.

[2] The "Revenge against Adultery" was first added, I believe, to the sixth edition of Reynolds' "Triumphs of God's Revenge against Murder,"

treats of jealousy, the borrowing of the names, which are common ones, is probable enough.

It is probable that the relation of Cinthio was founded on an historical fact, as on a popular story. According to an assertion of the late Wilhelm Waiblinger, in the *Taschenbuch Penelope* for 1831, there is an Italian ballad on this subject: we have looked for this in vain in Wolff's *Egeria*. At all events, the cast of the story renders it not improbable that it is derived from a popular romance, such as itinerant minstrels sing before painted tables. This story is certainly among the best of Cinthio's, whose merits as a narrator we cannot rate very highly. The popular story of Othello, if such a one must be supposed to exist, would belong, from its subject, to the cycle of which we shall have to treat more at length in considering the tale of Cymbeline.

fol., Lond., 1679, edited by S. Pordage, who dedicates the work to the Earl of Shaftesbury. I do not quite understand whether Reynolds was also the author of the additional stories; for, although written in the same style, his name does not appear on the second title-page, nor does Pordage absolutely affirm that they were written by him, though he may wish to imply as much. In the tale to which Steevens alludes, which is the eighth history of the additional book, and called "an Italian history," Jocelina, Countess of Chiety, marries Don Iago, who turns out false, and is beheaded by the Countess. She afterwards marries Othello, "an old German soldier," who discovers her infidelity, and "leaves her in discontent." Beyond the identity of these names, I can trace no similarity between this story and the play.—Ed.

V. THE MERCHANT OF VENICE.

Eschenburg commences his dissertation upon this piece with a consideration of the three unities, and the neglect of the unity of action in the pieces of Shakespeare; a neglect, says he, which is rather a merit than a defect, inasmuch as he knew how to weave in the episode with the main story, that the latter suffers nothing by the introduction of the other, but rather seems to be first set in its full light by it. This seems, also, he proceeds to say, to be the case in this piece. Both actions, the cruelty of the Jew and the love of Bassanio, have been most happily united in one event; and this merit is so much the greater, as in all probability he has made use of two stories, and has united their very different contents in one piece.

This part of Eschenburg's treatise must have been written before he gave the story here quoted of Giovanni Fiorentino,[1] for the real source of Shakespeare's drama, as the English critics had previously done; for here he seems to suppose that Shakespeare had been the first to combine the story of Bassanio's love with that of the merchant brought to judgment, when this combination finds a place in *Il Pecorone*, and, as we shall see, in a still older production. Shakespeare kept most closely to the already existing story, and only changed the test by which Gianetto must gain the lady of Belmonte, with another, more apt for the purpose, which he

[1] The Adventures of Gianetto are reprinted, with an English translation, in Mr. Collier's Shakespeare's Library, vol. ii. An abridged translation of it is given by Dr. Johnson, and is found in the variorum editions of Shakespeare.—Ed.

also borrowed from a story, the second of those here quoted. We say this, not to lessen the merit of the poet, but to show wherein it consists; in the treatment, not the invention of the material, which, as we have seen, had been put into his hands. Shakespeare has frequently shown his genius in the combination of different materials; we are far from doubting it: but Eschenburg's dissertation would have been more appropriately prefixed to another of his pieces—"King Lear," for example, or "The Taming of the Shrew"—than to the "Merchant of Venice."

The *Pecorone* of Ser Giovanni Fiorentino was written in 1378: the first edition was printed at Milan in 1558.[1] Our story is the first of the fourth day. Giovanni again probably borrowed from the well-known *Gesta Romanorum*, from the English version of which the second quoted novel, "The Three Caskets," is borrowed. Eschenburg has taken the narrative belonging to this from a German translation, printed in 1538. In this story, a knight at the court of the Emperor Lucius in Rome has fallen in love with his daughter: he twice buys for a thousand marks the privilege of passing a night with her, but each time falls asleep without having obtained his desire. The third time, he has to borrow the money from a merchant, pledging *all* his flesh for the repayment, and giving him at the same time a bond written in his blood. But this time a wise philosopher (Virgilius, in the English translation) warns him, and teaches him to overcome the enchantment which had held him bound in sleep in the two first nights. The rest of the story agrees with that of Giovanni, to whom belongs little more than the invention that a *friend* of the needy man borrows the money for him, under that terrible condition, by which the narrative certainly gains much interest. It is thus taken into the list of stories of friendship, to which it did not originally belong; and it

[1] This is not quite correct. A copy dated 1554 is in the Douce Collection. It is reprinted in the *Novelliero Italiano*, 1754.—Ed.

closely approaches to the Greek form of the story, as Schiller has treated it in *Die Bürgschaft* (The Suretyship). Shakespeare has laid great stress upon this circumstance, and his play is a true code of friendship in all its degrees.

From the story of the English *Gesta Romanorum* appears to have arisen a play which was established on the English boards before Shakespeare's time. Stephen Gosson mentions it in his "School of Abuse," under the title of "The Jew," which, he says, was played at the Bull Theatre, and "represented the greedinesse of worldly chusers, and the bloody minds of usurers." Gosson praises this piece, and Steevens conjectures that Shakespeare has remodelled it, or taken it as the groundwork of his own play.[1] On the other hand, from the story of Giovanni Fiorentino has arisen the old ballad of Gernutus, the Jew of Venice, which Dr. Percy has preserved in his Relics of Ancient English Poetry, and Eschenburg has translated; the ballad itself at least claims an Italian origin.[2] This ballad, however, confines itself to the single circumstance of pledging a pound of flesh, and omits every thing relating to the love of the friend for whom the money has been borrowed. The age of this ballad cannot be distinctly ascertained; it is concluded that Shakespeare was acquainted with it, from the incident of the whetting of the knife. This incident, however, occurs in "Blue Beard" and "Poor Henry," and may be considered as an element of popular fiction.

[1] The coincidence between the subject of the play of "The Jew," as mentioned by Gosson, and Shakespeare's play, is so remarkable, that I am inclined to believe the story was the same. I do not think it has been remarked, *in connexion with the subject*, that Shakespeare's play was also called the *Jew of Venice*. This fact appears from the entry made by Roberts on the Stationers' Register for 1598.—Ed.

[2] The ballad itself says, "as Italian writers tell;" but balladists were not always the promulgators of truth, and no ballads of the time are good evidence in such matters.—Ed.

In Lessing's second letter to Eschenburg, the former claims the discovery that Shakespeare has borrowed from Giovanni Fiorentino, and the latter, again, from the *Gesta Romanorum*. Lessing, unquestionably, made both discoveries independently, but in the first the English critics had anticipitated him. Our predecessor in the collection of the sources of Shakespeare, Mrs. Arabella Lennox, Fielding's unkind sister, had, it is true, overlooked them in her "Shakespeare Illustrated, or the novels on which the plays of Shakespeare are founded," 3 vols., London, 1754; but as early as 1755[1] a little work appeared in London, which undertook to give the sources of the "Merchant of Venice," and contains a translation of the story of Giovanni, and the three tales afterwards quoted from Boccaccio. The English commentators on the poet, Farmer and Tyrwhitt, made the second discovery later than Lessing, but independently of him. With respect to the first, they hesitate not to remark here, also, that a translation of the story of Giovanni was extant in Shakespeare's times, and must have been since lost; an opinion to which, we are sorry to say, Eschenburg subscribes.[2] They have not succeeded, however, in showing the existence of such a translation. Besides the ballad already mentioned, no representation of this story has been found in the English language, but what occurs in the old book bearing the title, "The Orator: handling a hundred several discourses in form of declamations: some of the arguments being drawn from Titus Livius and other ancient writers. Written in French by Alexander Silvayn, and Englished by L. P." London, printed by Adam Islip, 1596.[3] The real name of the com-

[1] Entitled, "The novel from which the play of the Merchant of Venice, written by Shakespear, is taken," 8vo.—ED.

[2] M. Simrock would now have to add the name of Mr. Collier to his grievances.—ED.

[3] The ninety-fifth declamation "of a Jew who would for his debt have a pound of the flesh of a Christian" has been reprinted by Mr. Collier,

poser, who called himself Lazarus Pyot, was, according to Ritson, Anthony Munday. This book might have been known to Shakespeare, for his play did not appear till two years later, 1598. It contains only a very short account of the course of the story, and two speeches, wherein first the Jew and then the merchant plead their right before the second judge: for the purpose of this book was only to show examples of practical eloquence, and to explain how the *pro* and *con* is to be found in every case of dispute. It does not appear that Shakespeare has made any use of either of these speeches.

If we now ascend to the sources from which the *Gesta Romanorum* derived the above-mentioned story, we must separate two narratives which are even here connected. These are: first, the lawsuit about the promised pound of flesh and its decision; secondly, the relation of the Knight to the Emperor's daughter, or, in Giovanni, the relation of Gianetto to the lady of Belmonte. Both are independent, and originally unconnected, stories.

I. With regard to the lawsuit for the flesh, the English translator of Gregorio Leti's Life of Pope Sextus V. (Ellis Farneworth, 1754) has offered a conjecture that an historical event related by Leti may be the foundation of our story.[1] The Italian author gives a precisely similar occurrence, which is said to have happened on the taking of St. Domingo in Hispaniola, by Drake, (which would carry the date to 1585)

from an edition said to be printed in 1598; but Mr. Collier tells me this was a mere printer's oversight for 1596. Skottowe has produced passages to show that this work may have suggested several hints for the conduct of Shylock before the court; but the similarities, though very curious, can scarcely be considered as conclusive. Our author has evidently overlooked them.—ED.

[1] See the editor's note, p. 293. The similarity occasioned much controversy in the periodicals of the time; and in the "Universal Magazine" for December, 1754, is a letter which gives the conflicting opinions of several writers on the subject.—ED.

between the merchant Paul Secchi and the Jew Sampson Ceneda: but here the parties are transposed, and it is the Jew who wagers a pound of his flesh against a thousand crowns if the news of this capture should prove true. But Percy has remarked that the older play already quoted, "The Jew," had been brought on the stage before 1579; consequently, the later incident in Rome could have had no influence upon the already developed fiction. This is the more certain, as we know two much older representations of it in the *Pecorone* and the English *Gesta Romanorum*. If, then, Leti is to be believed, of which Douce has expressed considerable doubts, those two merchants took their hint from the story, and designedly changed the form of the wager.

According to Malone's account, there is found, in a Persian MS. which was in the possession of Thomas Munro, a similar account of a Jew and a Mussulman. Unfortunately, this MS. is defective at the beginning and end; so that its age, which, however, could not be very great, cannot be determined with certainty. The following is an abridged analysis of the story.

In a city in Syria lived a poor Mussulman near a rich Jew. The former begged of his neighbour the loan of one hundred dinars, on condition of a share in the gain. The Mussulman had a beautiful wife, whom the Jew loved; and he consented to the request, because he considered this a favourable opportunity for obtaining his wishes. The Mussulman, however, is required to give him a bond, that he will repay the money within six months, and that if he is only a day over this term, the Jew shall cut a pound of flesh from what part of his body he pleases. The Mussulman sets out on his journey with the borrowed money, and is so successful in his transactions, that, before the expiration of the term fixed upon, he is able to send back the money to the Jew by a trusty messenger. This money, however, falls into the hands of his needy family, who

use it for their subsistence. So, when the Mussulman returns from his journey, the Jew demands the hundred pieces of gold *and* the pound of flesh. The first judge before whom they come decides for the Jew: when the Mussulman objects to this decision, they go before a second, and afterwards a third, which last was the Cadi of Emessa. When the Cadi had heard the complaint, he ordered a sharp knife to be brought. The Mussulman is frightened; but the Cadi now turns to the Jew, and orders him to cut out neither more nor less than a pound of flesh, and that, if he does otherwise, he must pay for it with his life.

This story, a similar one in Gladwin's Persian Moonshee, 13, and a third, also Oriental, in "The British Magazine" for 1800, p. 159, establishes with the English critics (Douce and Dunlop, for example) the opinion that our story must be of Oriental origin. But this conclusion is too hasty; for the East has in many forms received reflex impressions from the West, and has taken back, for the fictions which it lent, a rich return of others transplanted thence. The internal form of the story must decide its origin.

The brothers Grimm have expressed two opinions on the origin of our story, the later of which seems to be at variance with their earlier one. In the edition of "Poor Henry," (Berlin Royal School Book Establishment, 1815) it is said that the Jew, according to the original tale, wished to buy heart's blood, to cure himself of a bad disease which could not be otherwise healed. According to this, our story will connect itself with that of "Poor Henry" and "Blue Beard," with both of which, as we have already seen, it has the whetting of the knife in common. It is known that Poor Henry was to be cured of leprosy by the blood of a pure virgin; but it is less generally known that the brothers Grimm supposed in Blue Beard the purpose to cure himself, by the blood of his wives, of the sickness which caused his blue beard. When, besides, according to the popular belief, the Jews lay in wait

for Christian children, to obtain their blood, whereby one must suppose the purpose to heal themselves with it, this conjecture has much probability; the more so, as we can show that there was, even in Shakespeare's time, the notion of such a use of the purchased flesh. In the ninety-fifth declamation of the book already mentioned, called "The Orator," the Jew adduces in his speech many purposes for which he might possibly want the flesh: among others, he says: "I might also say that I have need of this flesh to cure a friend of mine of a certain malady (leprosy, for example) which is otherwise incurable."[1] But, though it readily occurs to the mind to imagine such an application of the flesh, the foundation of the story must be sought deeper: at most, this by-thought may have had the effect of ascribing to a Jew the desire for Christian flesh, because we most readily imagine in this nation, whatever the truth may be, those evil diseases which spread the leprosy in the East. But just as well may the other cause have operated—namely, the hatred of the Christians attributed to the Jews, with which so horrible a desire after Christian flesh fully agreed. It is not a Jew who makes this agreement either, in all forms of the story. We have seen that in the oldest representation of this tale, in the *Gesta Romanorum*, a Christian merchant makes the compact with the Knight.

Another view is found in Jacob Grimm's German Law Antiquities, S. 616. It is well known that, according to the Roman law of the twelve tables, the creditor had the right[2] over the debtor assigned to him (*addictus*), if no payment were made after the lapse of sixty days and a threefold pro-

[1] "Or that I would have it to thereby terrify the Christians for ever abusing the Jews any more hereafter." I quote this for the purpose of remarking that the ground of the "Merchant of Venice" appears to me to be rather *religious animosity* than any particular satire.—ED.

[2] A right, however, which does not appear to have been ever put in practice.—ED.

clamation of the debt, to *kill* him, or to sell him on the other side of the Tiber (*postea de capite addicti pœnas sumito aut si volet uls Tiberim venum dato*). If he was assigned to several creditors, they might cut him to pieces, according to the uncial proportion of their debt, without having, like Shylock, to fear a punishment if they did not accurately observe this proportion. (*Si pluribus addictus sit, partes secanto, si plus minusve secuerint se* [*sine*] *fraude esto.* Cf. Niebuhr's Roman History, first edition, ii., 314). This horrible right, thinks Grimm, is met with in old stories, transplanted into the middle ages, but so different therefrom, that they must have arisen from other sources. For instance, because the twelve tables appoint the *sectio corporis* without previous stipulation, and only in the case of several creditors, and declare that the cutting more or less is not punishable, Grimm imagines that he must ascribe an influence upon the formation of the story to the German law, which allowed even to a single creditor the mutilation of the debtor. But the Roman law gave even to a single creditor a right over the life and death of the debtor; consequently, he was allowed also to mutilate him: the German law, which expressly declares this, does not, therefore, in this respect, differ from the Roman. It is natural, also, that the *sectio corporis* in our story should only happen upon an express stipulation; because the old common right, at the time when the story appears, was already forgotten, and therefore the assumption of a special agreement was needful to revive it again in its complete severity. But such an agreement might have been met with, even in the time of the twelve tables. Lastly, if, in the story, the cutting too much or too little is made punishable, it is because here a later and milder law comes into force in opposition to the older and more severe form.

Here we first approach the meaning of the story. It is one of law-history, and represents the triumph of the *æquitas* over the *jus strictum* — in other words, over the essential

content of the whole Roman law-history. This *æquitas*, the milder principle of law, rests here upon the fundamental principle that human blood should not be shed; a respect which the Roman law, allowing to the creditor the mutilation of the debtor, had neglected with unexampled barbarity. The creditor, here the Jew, demands this old, severe justice; and, with an obstinacy peculiar to his nation, "will have his bond." The judge, also, cannot deny severe justice; he must have what the bond promises, but neither more nor less. Here his obstinacy is met by an equal obstinacy: he will allow no *æquitas*, and demands his *jus strictum;* but the judge binds him down to a *jus strictissimum*, and that also in favour of this *æquitas*, which, like every later principle of law, acts in the form of an exception, annihilating the substance of the old law, without formally repealing it. In fact, the old law is observed as to its form, in the permission given to the Jew to cut as much flesh as the bond promises; whilst the exception, "no more and no less," absorbs its whole substance, and decides at once the triumph of equity and the rights of humanity.

Doubtless it will be objected to me that, after all, wrong is done to the old law, inasmuch as the clause expressly mentioned in the twelve tables, *si plus minusve secuerint, se fraude esto*, is disregarded by the Prætor when he gives the defendant the benefit of such an exception. But the Prætor might avoid this clause, if, instead of the exception, no more and no less, he had given that which stands first in Shakespeare and alone in the *Gesta*, without shedding blood. The story did not take that clause of the twelve tables into the bond given to the Jew, which represents the strict law, but placed both principles in their universality one against the other: for, in truth, that clause was not in accordance with the spirit of severe justice which ought rather to have confined each creditor strictly to the uncial proportion of his debt. This clause was added to the law only for the sake of making it practi-

cable. Whoever is in any degree familiar with the Roman law must confess that the story represents very sufficiently the march of development of the Roman law, from the opposition of the more severe and the milder principle to a single event. That this event is connected with the right of compulsory servitude is not without meaning, as no ordinance of the twelve tables is more revolting and inhuman than this; and for this reason it was adapted to represent abstract severe justice in the story.

On account of this relation to the Roman law-history, which the internal form of the story makes known, we can neither, with the English, believe in an Oriental origin, nor, with Grimm, recognise in it a native German story. In the German law, the old, severe justice was not preserved even formally, but had been superseded by another *jus strictum*. The judge, therefore, would not have said, "Cut, but beware of spilling any blood;" but, "The bond is invalid; cut not, on pain of thy life." Yet in these words of the Roman Prætor lies the whole sense and spirit of the story.

We cannot either allow the fact upon which Grimm rests, that the story first took its rise in Germany and Lombardy. The *Gesta Romanorum*, in which it first appears, belong to Southern France, where, as Grimm himself confesses, (Popular Stories, iii., 371) and Douce doubts without sufficient reason, it was composed by Bercheur de Poitou. Grimm certainly remarks (Law Antiquities, S. 616, Note) that the Latin text does not contain this story, but it is well known that the editions, as well as the manuscripts, differ much one from the other; and, as the story is found in the German and English translations, it may probably have been in the Latin original. Lessing asserts this in the second letter to Eschenburg already mentioned; and Tyrwhitt has made use of an old Latin manuscript, (MSS. Harl., 2270) which he praises as the most perfect which he has ever seen, in which

the forty-eighth chapter contains this story, out of which he quotes several passages *verbatim*.[1] Even the copy which Douce made use of in his dissertation on the *Gesta Romanorum*, must have contained the story (compare Illustrations of Shakespeare, ii., 385, i., 281). It is true, this chapter may have been translated from the German, and may be an addition of a later German translator of the collection; but what proof is there that this German text again was not founded upon a Latin original?[2]

Our opinion that the story contains an old law anecdote, and that one full of the most meaning and incident that can exist, is supported by the form of the fable in the old *Meistergesang* of Kaiser Karls Recht, printed at Bamberg in 1493, the contents of which are thus given in the "Old German Museum," ii., 279-283:—

"A rich merchant left his whole possession to his son, which he squandered in the first year. He then borrows a thousand guilders of a Jew, to try his fortune abroad. The condition is the one already known. He returns with great gain, but does not find the Jew at home, and so overstays the time; at least, the Jew maintains that he has not fulfilled the contract, because the time has elapsed. They conclude to travel to the Emperor Charles, (this must be Charles the Great) that he may decide the dispute. On the road, the merchant falls asleep on his horse, and runs over and kills a child who was in his way. The child's father proclaims him for a murderer, and follows him, to make good his accusation to the Emperor's court. Here the merchant is taken into custody, but by a new misfortune falls out of the window,

[1] I have given these, with extracts from another manuscript, in a note at the end of this chapter.—ED.

[2] Douce was inclined to derive the process for the pound of flesh from the twelve tables, if it had not occurred in Oriental sources (i., 290). Besides, we find in Douce a long list of places in which this suit is mentioned (p. 279).

and kills an old Knight who was sitting below upon a bench. The son of this Knight now comes forward as plaintiff against the merchant, so that the Emperor has three causes to decide. The dispute with the Jew is settled in the well known manner; the claim as to the child he decides in a less satisfactory way. 'Send him to thy wife, that he may beget thee another child.' — 'Nay,' said the man, 'I will rather say nothing more of my loss.' He advises the son of the old Knight, as the most satisfactory manner of avenging his father, to go up into the chamber, have the merchant placed upon the bench, and the young man may then fall upon him and kill him. But the young Knight fears he may fall beside him, and so gives up his claim to vengeance."

Here also are introduced some law anecdotes, very inferior in depth, however, to the one in question. The last of them is a jest still current among the people against the *Jus Talionis*, which is met with also in *Bidermanni Utopia*, Dilingæ, 1691, p. 310.

II. The other part of the story of Giovanni, and of that of the *Gesta Romanorum*, the courtship of the Emperor's daughter, or of the lady of Belmonte,[1] reminds us most im-

[1] Warton has referred to the ancient romance of Barlaam and Josaphat as the remote but original source of Shakespeare's caskets. According to the Greek original, which has not been printed, "the King commanded four chests to be made, two of which were covered with gold, and secured by golden locks, but filled with the rotten bones of human carcasses. The other two were overlaid with pitch, and bound with rough cords, but replenished with precious stones and the most exquisite gems, and with ointments of the richest odour. He called his nobles together, and, placing these chests before them, asked which they thought the most valuable. They pronounced those with the golden coverings to be the most precious, supposing they were made to contain the crowns and, girdles of the King. The two chests covered with pitch they viewed with contempt. Then said the King, 'I presumed what would be your determination; for ye look with the eyes of sense. But to discern baseness or value, which are hid within, we must look with the eyes of the

mediately of the German Brunhild, who chooses to be wooed in the same manner; but it still more reminds us of many German and Italian popular stories, where costly jewels are given for permission to pass one night only in the chamber of the beloved object, and every time a sleeping potion frustrates the lover's purpose, until at last he receives advice to pour out the drink secretly (compare Grimm's *Hausmärchen*, ii., 88, iii., 159).

In the story of the *Gesta Romanorum*, this is wrought by no sleeping potion, but by a magic writing which the maiden has laid under the pillow, and which the Knight must draw out and throw from him, in order to remain awake. Probably it was originally sleeping-Runes cut in a tablet or staff which wrought this enchantment. Such Runes laid under the pillow often occur; for example, in the *Egilssage* (compare Legis, Mines of the North, i., 17). In Tristan, it is the pillow itself which puts the good Kaedin to sleep, when he is with the beautiful Kamele. (Heinrich's Continuation, verss. 4910-20; Ulrich's Continuation, v., 1690-9.) That the first coy, nay, cruel King's daughter, after the condition is fulfilled, and the marriage accomplished, changes her feeling, and loves her husband, is entirely with the story, and is of the deepest meaning. It is an excellent addition that it should be she, who by undertaking the judge's office, frees her husband and his friend from the obligations which they had undertaken on her account.

This story, moreover, occurs by itself in the tale of Abdallah, the son of Hanif, which Sandisson translated into French from an Arabic manuscript which he professed to have found in Batavia, and from which there is an extract in the *Bibliothèque des Romans*, Jan., 1778, A., p. 104. The

mind.' He then ordered the golden chests to be opened, which exhaled an intolerable stench, and filled the beholders with horror." Compare also a copy of the Latin *Gesta* in MS. Harl., 2270, and the other manuscripts cited by Warton.—ED.

princess is here bound by the will of her aunt, who left her her kingdom and crown, to subject her lover to such a test. This, however, is foreign to the connexion of the story: but the native prudery of the maiden makes this condition, and discovers the artifice of the sleeping potion, or magical writing; and only when this is overcome does "the virgin's mind change, so that she becomes wholly kind towards him," &c. But if, in Shakespeare, Portia is obliged, by the will of her father, to subject her suitors to the trial of the coffers, still we must not object to the incident; for here he has changed the condition of the story for a totally different one, the purpose of which was not to deceive the suitors of the coy maiden, but to find out the most worthy husband for her.

The story from which he borrowed the trial by the three coffers is doubtlessly the second here given, which is found only in the English *Gesta Romanorum.*[1] Our third (Dec. x., 1) had long passed for Shakespeare's source, but they are both related, and return in many forms. That the third also was known to Shakespeare is probable, as Valentine Schmidt has remarked, (Beitrage, S. 101) from a passage in "As You Like It;" for here is clearly an allusion to the words which Ruggieri addressed to his horse, when he added water to the water. We refer our readers especially to the comparison instituted by the learned author, in the passage already mentioned, between the stories relating to this incident; only subjoining, in respect to the story of Boccaccio, that it appears to have been a common subterfuge of penurious masters in the middle ages, that the ill fortune of the servant was to blame, not the illiberality of the court, if he carried away no gift therefrom. Walther von der Vogelweide expresses his

[1] It seems strange that M. Simrock should not have referred to the curious tale of the caskets in Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, which, though clearly not the original Shakespeare has followed, bears a great similarity to the incident in the play. I think, however, it is nearly the same tale we find in Boccaccio.—ED.

indignation on this subject (*Lachmann*, 70, 13):—"One speech shalt thou take heed of making. I mention this for my esteem of thee; for even if thou saidst it, I must hate it, as the niggards say when one asks his wages—'had he good luck, I would do him good.' They are themselves unhappy who speak thus, for they would not do as they say."

To give force to this pretence (had he good luck, I would do him good), the King, in Boccaccio, makes the trial of the two coffers: he succeeds in showing that fortune does not wish well to the Knight, as she suffers him to miss the one which is filled with gold: but afterwards he amends the fortune of the Knight by his kindness, in order to give a positive proof of his liberality. In Lehman's Chronicle of Spire (S. 788), the same story is told of a servant at the court of the Emperor Sigismund. Here, however, the Emperor does not undertake to amend the acts of fortune, but contents himself with having shown that his servant was wanting in good fortune, not himself in liberality. (Compare *Grätur's Bragur*, vol. v., pt. 2, 50.) In *Straparola*, xii., 5, is the same story of Sixtus V., with a new conclusion.

This idea enters in a very remarkable manner into an Oriental story of friendship. (Compare "Thousand and One Days," vol. iv., 184-6.) Of two friends who have mutually made for one another the greatest sacrifices which friendship can suggest, one is obliged to flee from his country, and comes to the court of the other, who is the King of Mosul. Here he hopes to find a sure asylum; but, to his great astonishment, he is refused admittance, and sent away with two hundred gold sequins, which he is to spend in trade, and he is not to return for six months. At the expiration of this period, he returns, and has only a hundred and fifty sequins remaining. When he now returns to his friend's court, and relates, at his request, what has happened to him, he is again refused admittance, and receives only fifty sequins, with the order to return again after another six months. When these

have passed, he has gained nearly a hundred sequins: he returns to the court; and now the King receives him affectionately, and excuses his former conduct with these words—"Thou knowest that misfortune is infectious. I had heard of thy misfortune, and dared not give thee a refuge, nor even see thee, for fear thy misfortune might impart itself to me, *and put me out of condition to do thee good when thy ill fortune had ceased.* Now that misfortune has departed from thee, nothing hinders me from following the impulse of friendship." And of this friendship he now gives him the most undoubted proof, by sacrificing to him his love. Hence, it clearly appears that the former dismissal during his misfortune was meant only for his friendly advantage. This idea of the infectious power of misfortune, which also moved the guest of the too happy Polycrates to give up his friendship, may very possibly lie in the background of our story, and may not unfrequently have served penurious masters as an excuse for their avarice.

[*Note by the Editor.*]

Tyrwhitt's notices of the tales in the Latin *Gesta*, referred to in the preceding pages are so necessary to the proper understanding of the argument, that the reader will not be displeased to have the opportunity of perusing them. The first tale, *Of the Bond*, is in ch. xlviii. of MS. Harl., 2270. A knight there borrows money of a merchant, upon condition of forfeiting *all his flesh* for non-payment. When the penalty is exacted before the judge, the *knight's mistress*, disguised, *in forma viri et vestimentis pretiosis induta*, comes into court, and, by permission of the Judge, endeavours to mollify the merchant. She first offers him his money, and then the double of it, &c., to all which his answer is—"*Conventionem meam volo habere.*—Puella, cum hoc audisset, ait coram omnibus, Domine mi judex, da rectum judicium super his quæ vobis dixero.—Vos scitis quod miles nunquam se obligabat ad aliud per literam nisi quod mercator habeat potestatem carnes ab ossibus scindere, *sine sanguinis effusione*, de quo nihil erat prolocutum. Statim mittat manum in eum; si vero sanguinem effuderit, *Rex contra eum actionem habet.* Mercator, cum hoc audisset, ait; date mihi pecuniam et omnem actionem ei

remitto. Ait puella, Amen dico tibi, nullum denarium habebis—pone ergo manum in eum, ita ut sanguinem non effundas. Mercator vero videns se confusum, abscessit; et sic vita militis salvata est, et nullum denarium dedit." The other incident, *of the caskets*, is in ch. xcix. of the same collection. A King of Apulia sends his daughter to be married to the son of an Emperor of Rome. After some adventures, (which are nothing to the present purpose) she is brought before the Emperor; who says to her, "Puella, propter amorem filii mei multa adversa sustinuisti. Tamen si digna fueris ut uxor ejus sis cito probabo. Et fecit fieri tria vasa. PRIMUM fuit *de auro purissimo* et lapidibus pretiosis interius ex omni parte, et plenum *ossibus mortuorum:* et exterius erat subscriptio; *Qui me elegerit, in me inveniet quod meruit.* SECUNDUM vas erat *de argento* puro et gemmis pretiosis, plenum *terra;* et exterius erat subscriptio: *Qui me elegerit, in me inveniet quod natura appetit.* TERTIUM vas *de plumbo* plenum *lapidibus pretiosis enterius et gemmis nobilissimis;* et exterius erat subscriptio talis: *Qui me elegerit, in me inveniet quod Deus disposuit.* Ista tria ostendit puellæ, et dixit, Si unum ex istis elegeris in quo commodum, et proficuum est, filium meum habebis. Si vero eligeris quod nec tibi nec aliis est commodum, ipsum non habebis." The young lady, after mature consideration of the vessels and their inscriptions, chooses the *leaden*, which being opened, and found to be full of gold and precious stones, the Emperor says: "Bona puella, bene elegisti—ideo filium meum habebis."

The bond story is found in a variety of forms, and Mr. Wright discovered the following very curious version of it in MS. Harl., 7322, a manuscript of the early part of the fourteenth century, *written in England*, a collection of Latin stories for preachers. The scene of the tale is laid in Denmark:—"In Dacia erat quidam homo habens duos filios, quorum senior est maliciosus et parcus, junior autem non tantum liberalis sed prodigus. Cum autem junior hospitalitati omnia quæ habuit expendisset, accidit ut duos homines peterent ab eo hospitium. Ille autem, quanquam nihil haberet unde honeste eos reciperet, propter tamen verecundiam eos recepit. Cum autem nihil haberet unde cibaria eis pararet præter unam vaccam, eam occidit. Deficiente igitur pane et potu, fratrem seniorem adivit, subsidium ab eo requirens; qui respondit se sibi nihil penitus daturum, nisi emeret. Contestante autem juniori se nihil habere, respondit senior, 'Immo,' inquit, 'carnem tuam habes, vende mihi ad latitudinem manus meæ de carne tua in quibus et in quadruplum ubicunque voluero recipere.' Junior parvipendens pepigit cum eo, testibus adhibitis. Modus autem et istius patriæ est sic vel alibi sub quavis falsitate

scripti vel chirographi ita nisi sub teste licet emere vel vendere. Recedentibus igitur hospitibus et consumptis cibariis, pactum poposcit senior frater. Negat junior, et adductus est coram rege, et sententiatus coram juniore ut ad locum suppliciorum deducatur, et accipiat senior tantum de carne quantum pactum est vel in capite vel circa cor. Misertus autem sui populus eo quod liberalis erat, nunciaverunt filio regis quæ et quare hæc facta fuerant, qui statim misericordia motus, induit se, et palefridum ascendens secutus est miserum illum sic dampnatum; et cum venisset ad locum supplicii, videns eum populus qui ad spectaculum confluxerant, cessit sibi. Et alloquens filius regis fratrem illum seniorem crudelem, et dixit ei: 'Quid juris habes in isto?' Respondit: 'Sic,' inquit, 'pacti sumus, ut pro cibariis tantundem de carne sua mihi daret, et condempnatus est ad solutionem per patrem tuum regem.' Cui filius regis, 'Nihil,' inquit, 'aliud petis nisi carnem?' Respondit, 'Nihil.' Cui filius, 'Ergo sanguis suus in carne sua est;' et ait filius isti condempnato, 'Da mihi sanguinem tuum,' et statim pepigerunt, insuper fecit sibi condempnatus homagium. Tunc dixit filius regis fratri seniori, 'Modo cape ubicunque volueris carnem tuum; sed si sanguis meus est, si ex eo minimam guttam effunderis, morieris.' Quo viso, recessit senior confusus, et liberatus est junior per regem."

VI. CYMBELINE.

It is not certain whether the novel of Boccaccio (Dec. ii., 9) is the immediate or only the remote source of our play. Grimm (*Altdeutsche Wälder* i., 27) expressly denies it. Meanwhile, no story has yet been found which has more traits in common with our author's "Cymbeline." Though Benda gives as Shakespeare's undoubted original the second story in the work entitled "Westward for Smelts," which appeared at London in 1603,[1] and which story he has translated *verbatim* in the remarks to this play, yet this assertion is quite ungrounded. The greater number of the English critics decide for our story; and even Malone remarked that far more circumstances agree with Shakespeare here than in that story, which besides is nothing but a direct imitation of Boccaccio's story, adapted to English manners. With this Dunlop agrees, ii., 255 *et seq.* It mentions nothing of the chest whereby the traitor contrives to introduce himself by night into the chamber of the faithful wife—nothing of the pictures in it—nothing of the mole on her bosom—instead of this decisive token, a crucifix is represented as sufficing to convince the credulous husband of his wife's guilt. This defect is not counter-

[1] This date is given solely on the authority of Steevens, but Mr. Collier is of opinion that it was first published in 1620, being entered on the books of the Stationers' Company in that year. Mr. Collier says the only copy known of the edition of 1620 is preserved in the Capell collection, but I have recently purchased a fine copy of the work, which certainly has no indication of having been a republication. A curious woodcut of a barge occurs on the title-page. I am inclined to believe Steevens' assertion, because he refers to the entry in the Stationers' Register as containing information not found in the edition he used.—Ed.

balanced by other traits which are wanting in Boccaccio,[1] and which might show that Shakespeare had known only this form of the story. Probably the tragedy was written before the publication of the story; for though Malone conjectures the former was composed in the year 1605, because the stories of Lear and Cymbeline stand near each other in Holinshed's Chronicle, yet Benda remarks, very justly, how insufficient this datum is to determine the age of the piece: but he is not more successful himself, when he maintains with confidence that the piece was not composed before 1603, because the story first came out in that year. Tieck assumes that this piece is a work of the poet's youth, resumed in his after-life.

That no English translation of this play can be produced of Shakespeare's age is no decisive proof whether our supposition be allowed that Shakespeare could read it in the original; or we suppose, with the English, that the translations have been lost.[2] The Italian names, Philario, Pisanio, and Iachimo, would imply a borrowing from an Italian source; though the episode of the stolen sons of the King, Guiderius and

[1] The tale in the Decameron is unquestionably, in some measure, the source of Shakespeare's play, but it had probably been translated into English in other forms besides that contained in the "Westward for Smelts." One translation of the story was published as early as 1518, under the title of "Frederyke of Gennen," a copy of which was in Captain Cox's library. I have seen only a fragment of this tract; and should feel much obliged if any reader would refer me to the existence of a complete copy.—Ed.

[2] Two similarities are mentioned by Mr. Collier between an early French miracle-play and the play of "Cymbeline." In the former, the seducer boasts that, if he could speak to the lady twice, he would conquer her virtue. This boast also occurs in Shakespeare's play; but it seems to me a natural coincidence, and similar to what would be placed in the mouth of any libertine. The second similarity is in the seducer assaulting the virtue of the lady by pretending that her husband had set her the example of infidelity. This incident is also much too universal to be considered in this case as any remarkable coincidence.—Ed.

Arviragus, and a great part of the fate of Leonatus Posthumus, give ground for the supposition that Shakespeare had previously met with another story, and amalgamated it with this. Perhaps this union of the fate of Imogen with the old British popular story, as told by Holinshed, and before him by Geoffrey of Monmouth and others, had already taken place in a popular story then current, and of which Shakespeare made use. This would remove the reproach, on which English critics lay so much stress, that Shakespeare has peopled ancient Rome with modern Italians: for if he found those Italian names already existing in a popular romance, he could not change them for others without prejudice to the popularity of his piece. Douce, (Illustrations, ii., 199) imagines that he finds in the romance of Xenophon Ephesius, "Abrocamas and Anthia," which he also considers as the earliest source of "Romeo and Juliet," two incidents which also occur in "Cymbeline." The first is as follows:—When Anthia has become the slave of Mantos and her husband, the latter becomes enamoured of her; the jealous Manto, discovering this, orders a trusty servant to take Anthia into the wood, and put her to death. The servant, however, like the servant in Boccaccio, and Pisanio, in Shakespeare, pities the unfortunate Anthia, and spares her life. This incident, which occurs perpetually in stories of all times and of all nations, proves nothing, especially as it is found in Boccaccio in much nearer connexion with the fortune of Imogen. The other incident is that of the sleeping potion, which Imogen drinks like Anthia and Julia, after taking which she is judged dead by Arviragus and Guiderius, and then awakes to enter into the service of the Roman General. It is not to be denied here that the sleeping potion has more analogy in its operation with "Cymbeline" than with "Romeo and Juliet," and therefore it is very possible that, in the popular relation which we have already supposed Shakespeare to have made use of, the romance of Xenophon may have been incorporated with the

story of Boccaccio, if, indeed, Shakespeare himself did not undertake this incorporation.[1]

In the story of Cymbeline and his two sons, related by Geoffrey of Monmouth, there are but few incidents to remind us of Shakespeare. "When Cymbeline had ruled ten years over the Britons, he begat two sons, Guiderius and Arviragus: to the first of these he left the kingdom at his death. He refused the Romans their tribute, whereupon Claudius landed with an army, and besieged Porchester. With him was a man named Levis Hamo, on whose counsel he relied in matters of war. When it came to a contest, Guiderius performed prodigies of valour, and Claudius was flying to the ships, when the cunning Hamo threw his arms from him, clothed and armed himself as a Briton, and so fought against the Romans. He encourages the Britons to follow the enemy, and gain a full victory; for he had learned their language and manners, having grown up among the British hostages at Rome. In this manner he drew near to King Guiderius, who suspected no treachery, and slew him unawares with a stroke of the sword. He then fled again to the Romans. When Arviragus saw his brother slain, he put on his armour, and led the Britons against the Romans, as if he were Guiderius himself." Thus, in Shakespeare, Leonatus Posthumus twice changes his armour: once to fight with the Britons, when he had come with the Romans; the second time to be taken captive by the Britons as a Roman. But it is exactly his fortunes which give most foundation for the suspicion that a popular form of the story lay between Geoffrey of Monmouth's account and Shakespeare's representation.[2]

[1] This is, I think, most unlikely. If the Greek romance had any influence at all on the story employed by Shakespeare, it can at best be supposed to be a very remote original.—Ed.

[2] Even the name of Imogen occurs in Holinshed and Geoffrey of Monmouth; not, however, in the story of Cymbeline and his son, but at the beginning of the Chronicle, in the history of Brutus and Locrine.

Meanwhile, it is certain that the story of Cassibelan, which is given in the *Bibliothèque Universelle des Romans*, 1781, (Janv. A., p. 21) without any note of the source, has been in no way used by Shakespeare; for, although this agrees with his representation even to the minutest points, this agreement is far too close to allow us to deny that the composer has rather drawn from Shakespeare. In some notes subjoined to this story, even the English commentary on Shakespeare is made use of; for example, p. 64, where the passage quoted from Erasmus is borrowed from a note of Warburton. We cannot, therefore, doubt that the editors of the *Bibliothèque* have copied Shakespeare's "Cymbeline," and, contrary to their usual custom, have omitted to mention the source whence it was taken, to conceal the departure from the plan of their work, which was only to contain extracts from romances,[1] not from plays.

The story of Boccaccio has probably taken its rise from a Latin original, which is most likely that of the German folk-book, which appeared first without date or place, under the title, *Ein leipliche history und Warheit von vier Kaufmendern* (a pleasant history and truth of four merchants); and was afterwards printed at Nuremburg, under the title, *Ain lipliche historie von fier Kaufleuten.* In Sweden and Denmark this book is still popular; in Germany it has gone out of use, but has been lately replaced by an entirely modern work, which has arisen out of Boccaccio's novel. It bears the title of "The beautiful Caroline a Captain of Hussars, or the magnanimous merchant's wife," 8vo., 1826. Upon the earlier work, compare Grimm, *Altdeutsche Wälder*, i., 68.

[1] Mr. Collier, in his Shakespeare's Library, gives an account of two old French romances, which contain the incident of the wager. In one of these, a secret hole in the wall of the room where the lady takes a bath enables the man to discover a peculiar mark on her body; in the other, tokens are stolen by a perfidious attendant. These tales prove the popularity of this incident, but only remotely illustrate Shakespeare's plot.—Ed.

Augustus von Schlegel gives as the idea of "All's Well that Ends Well," that female truth and submission conquer the misuse of male superiority. Thus expressed, the same thought is the foundation also of the present play, and of several others of Shakespeare's; among these we place King Lear, The Winter's Tale, Two Gentlemen of Verona, Much Ado about Nothing, Pericles of Tyre, and Othello: though, in the last, the triumph of pure womanhood takes a tragic turn. In "Measure for Measure," Shakespeare scarcely found this idea ready to his hand; but, by the alterations already noticed, he contrived to draw his material into the same circle, and even to duplicate the principle in Isabella and Mariana. In "The London Prodigal," falsely attributed to Shakespeare, it is the wonderful fidelity of the woman which reforms the villain of the piece. We should never finish our task, if we were to enumerate all the fictions on this subject; we therefore confine ourselves to the most important. Schlegel has already quoted, in illustration, the story of Griselda, which, under the name of "The Margrave Walther," has become a popular German story: but we may as justly reckon among the number those of Lucretia, in Livy; of Bertha with the broad foot, the wife of Pipin (compare Valentine Schmidt, on the Italian heroic poems, 1-42, and Grimm, "Old German Forests," iii., 43); of Hildegard, the wife of Charles the Great, (Schreiber's "Tales of the Rhine," 63) which agrees in almost every point with that of Crescentia (*Kolocza Codex*, edited by Count Mailath, Pest. 1817, 241). The two last stories are merely the Oriental tale of the Cadi and his wife, "Arabian Nights," ii., 243 *et seq.* Even the confession is found here, but not the leprosy. (Compare chap. ci. of the English *Gesta Romanorum*, according to the extract in Douce, Illustrations of Shakespeare, ii., 416.) The popular tales of Hirlanda, Helena, and Kaisar Octavian, again belong to this cycle; and these are connected, as well with one another, as the last mentioned is with the French tale of Valentine and

Orson. To these we must add the stories of Genofeva and Siegfried, connected with the tale of Siegfried's birth, as told in the *Wilkinasage;* and finally, the new popular book of *Itha von Toggenburg,* whose fortunes are related in the last volume of the German "Thousand and One Nights," 168. The romance of Sir Galmy in the "Book of Love," of which an abridged popular form has been preserved, forms the connexion between these and Fridolin. Still later comes *Käthchen von Heilbronn,* which is closely connected with *Giletta di Narbonne,* and with an English ballad in which the dream under the elder tree heard by the Knight occurs, which has given so much pleasure on our stage. The Scottish ballad of Child Waters is more similar to Griselda. The *Roman de la Violette,* the origin of Spohr's *Euryanthe,* stands between our tale and that of Crescentia. Finally, the old German heroic poem of Chautrun, and the Indian tales of Damajanti and of Sacontala, have the same tendency.

In this great family of stories, a narrower cycle is formed by those which, like our tale, begin with a husband who is at first well disposed, and convinced of the virtue of his wife, and who wagers with a calumniator of the whole sex that the latter shall not be able to triumph over the lady's virtue. This introduction has decided advantages; for, besides that it at once establishes the theme in question, it also serves greatly to the development of the principal idea, when the husband, at first so confident that he can venture his whole fortune upon his wife's virtue, is yet not found sufficiently firm in his belief and confidence, inasmuch as he suffers himself to be deceived by proofs and tokens surreptitiously obtained, and to be hurried into barbarities which terminate in introducing the triumph of feminine fidelity and patience. The apparent victory gained for a while by the unworthy opinion of the sex only serves at last to show the purity and exalted nature of women in brighter colours, in which even the best husband has shown too little confidence.

This may be the reason why this introduction is such a favourite, though it occurs sometimes in tales where it can have no effect, the story taking another turn. Among this number is the favourite ballad—

"There sat two companions," &c.,

in which the divulging of the secrets of love is avenged immediately upon the person who betrays them; for his love, who has listened to the companions, shuts the door upon him, and sends him away with the well known words—"Go whence thou camest, and bind thy horse on a green bough." Compare *Cento novelle Antiche*, nov. 61.

If we compare this with our story, it appears censurable, in the first instance, that Bernabo should so much as speak of the charms of his wife before those licentious strange merchants; and, in fact, his loquacity may be considered as the origin of all his succeeding misfortunes.

The story of Lucretia also begins with a similar wager, though Livy has left it in doubt whether it referred to the lady's excellence generally, or only to that of her chastity. Here, indeed, Tarquinius Sextus breaks the conditions of the wager, inasmuch as he gains by force what Ambrogivolo's cunning pretends to have obtained; but the shaming of the husband for his wavering faith does not occur. On the other hand, the death of Lucretia, in reference to Collatinus, may be considered as a punishment of his vainglory, or of his guilt in having so much as questioned the virtue of his wife.

The story takes another turn in the Middle High German poem of the two merchants, (reprinted in "The Old German Forests," i., 35-66) the contents of which we give in an abridged form, as it refers not only to our story, but to Boccaccio's *Gilletta di Narbonne*, and to the alterations which Shakespeare has made in "Measure for Measure," in the material which he borrowed from Cinthio.

In Verdun, in France, lived two merchants, who were intimate friends, named Gilot and Gillam; one of whom was

rich, and the other poor. The rich man had a daughter named Irmengart; the poor man a son called Bertram. Friendship moves Gilot to give his daughter in marriage to the son of his poor friend. When the wedding has been solemnized, and the bride taken home, Bertram is compelled by urgent business to go to the annual fair at Provins. Taking a tender leave of his young wife, he arrives safely at Provins, where he takes up his quarters at the best inn. At table he meets with many merchants, who, in the course of conversation, speak of their wives at home. One pretends that he is sure his wife is a devil, and no woman; and no one should come too near her. The other, on the contrary, praises his as kind and compassionate, and one given to taking pity on her neighbours; whereby it comes to pass that he has two bastards to support. The third has a wife who "drinks till her tongue stumbles," &c. The host then challenges Bertram to give an account of his wife, and he praises her as the flower of all women. The host, however, offers to wager with him, that within a short time he will go to bed with her. Bertram accepts the challenge, and both stake all their possessions on the wager. Bertram now sends word to his wife that he is going to Venice, and will not return very shortly; and the host betakes himself to Verdun, and takes lodgings opposite the house of Irmengart. He seeks to seduce her, first by greetings, then by presents, then by bribing messengers, and at last by great offers. Finally, when he proffers her a thousand marks for one night, all the people in the house persuade her not to lose such a sum. She seeks protection with her nearest relatives, with her parents, and those of her husband; but even these, blinded by the gold, command her to accept the offer, and threaten her with the anger of her husband, when he returns and hears that he has lost such a sum for a whim of hers. Irmengart, at these counsels and threats, falls into the utmost despair. In this distress, she turns to God, who pities her goodness, and sends

her good counsel. In accordance with this, she sends word to Hogier (for this was the host's name) that she is ready to do his will; that he must send the money, and come to her secretly in the night; but she changes clothes with her maid Amelin, whom she puts off in her stead upon Hogier. When the night is past, and Hogier wishes to depart, he asks for a token; but this being refused, he cuts off a finger of Amelin, whom he takes for Irmengart, and takes it with him. Bertram, however, will not be convinced of his wife's dishonesty, and both travel back to Verdun, where Hogier promises to show the proof that he has won his wager. When they arrive there, Bertram prepares a great feast, and invites all his relatives to it. Irmengart remarks his grief, and asks the cause: he confides to her the story of the wager, when she comforts him, and says—"His arts shall avail him nothing; all he has is ours." When the feast is over, Hogier relates the story to the assembled guests, and maintains that he has won the wager, showing as proof the cut finger. Irmengart now confesses her fault, but excuses herself by saying that all her relatives had counselled her to earn the money. When she has shamed them by this, she shows both hands, on which there is no finger wanting, and at the same time comes Amelin, and complains of her misfortune. Hogier now confesses that he has lost both the wager and his fortune; but Amelin is given him to wife, with a dowry of a hundred marks. At the conclusion of the piece, the author gives his name, Ruprecht von Würzburg.

A modern Greek ballad in Bartholdy's "Fragments for the Knowledge of Greece," (Berlin, 1805, 430-440, reprinted in the "Old German Forests," ii., 181) tells the same story; but here the brother lays a wager with the King on the chastity of his sister; and the King, in conclusion, is claimed by the sister as her servant:—

"So open now your eyes and see, both lords and lowly born,
My fingers are in number full, my head is all unshorn:

As with my servant he hath lain, therefore is he my knave;
So fill thy wallet and go out, as doth beseem a slave!
Fetch water from the well for us, so much as we require,
And on thine ass from yonder wood fetch fuel for our fire."

Finally, the often-mentioned old Welsh story of Taliesin ("Old German Forests," i., 70) contains the same fundamental features. It will readily be remarked, that in the old German poem, the wager brings no shame to the bridegroom; for he does not wholly deny his confidence in the chastity of his wife; instead of this, the parents and relatives are put to shame, who have counselled Irmengart to earn the gold; so that here also the story sets the main idea in the clearest light, by the contrast between the greedy relatives and the high feeling of the woman. This, however, does not happen immediately through the bet, which, therefore, is not so intimately connected with the story as in Boccaccio's relation. For this reason, we prefer the latter.

The connexion, moreover, with *Giletta di Narbonne* is shown even in the names. The father of Irmengart is called Gilot, her father-in-law Gillam; neither of them differing much from Giletta. Her husband is called Bertram; the husband of Giletta is Beltram, which is the same name. On the other side, Bernabo, Ginevra's husband, as Grimm has already remarked, reminds us also of Bertram; and Ambrogivolo of the Ambrosius of the German popular tale. This interchange can only be explained by the relationship of the two stories. The former story does not confine itself closely to the common idea; but this idea develops itself in both cases in the same manner; the deceit by the substitution of a false bride is common to the two stories. In Shakespeare's "Measure for Measure," the substitution of Mariana for Isabella, if we look at the relation of the latter to Angelo, is like that of Amelin for Irmengart, in the old German poem; but if we look at the relation of Angelo to Mariana, to whom

he has promised marriage, it is the change of Giletta di Narbonne against the gentlewoman's daughter.

In conclusion, we should mention the *novella* of Bandello, i., 21, which commences also with the same wager, but afterwards takes quite another turn. The lady entices both the false lovers who have wagered with her husband into a tower, and obliges one to spin and the other to wind thread, if they do not wish to perish. The husband has a magic glass, which informs him from a distance of his wife's behaviour. Connected with this is a story in the German *Gesta Romanorum*, where the husband's shirt remains white so long as his wife keeps her faith to him. The rest of the story is very similar to Bandello. This latter has also furnished Massinger with material for his drama, "The Picture." Compare Valentine Schmidt's contributions to the History of Romantic Poetry, 14, where also are given the later modifications of Boccaccio's story.[1]

[1] Daubing with honey, and exposing to the wasps and flies in a burning sun, is an old punishment. Compare Grimm's German Legal Antiquities. The passage there quoted should also be mentioned (Apuleius, *Asinus Aureus*, lib. viii., p. 180, ed. Bipont). The incident here referred to concludes the tale in the Decameron.

VII. THE MERRY WIVES OF WINDSOR.

The first sketch of this play appeared in 1602,[1] soon after the poet remodelled it into the form in which we now possess it. If Malone's conjecture be correct, that this had been done in 1603, though it was not printed in the new form till 1623, then Shakespeare cannot have made use of the first story in "Westward for Smelts," which did not appear till 1603. We are sorry that we have been unable to procure this book. It might have given us information on the witch of Brentford, of which, it is said, the first story treats.

The English illustrators of Shakespeare assume that he obtained his materials from the following pieces:—

1. The Two Lovers of Pisa, in "Tarleton's News out of Purgatory," 1590. This has been reprinted in the edition of Johnson and Steevens, and is evidently taken from the story of The Ring, in Straparola.

2. The first story in "The Fortunate, the Deceived, and the Unfortunate Lovers." Steevens, it is true, had seen no earlier edition of this work than that of 1632, in 4to; but Malone asserts that the stories which it contains had already been published in Shakespeare's time. This story is, as the extract in Malone shows, only an imitation of the story of Giovanni.

[1] Reprinted by the Shakespeare Society, 1842. At the end of that reprint, I have given a collection of the tales on which this play has been supposed to be founded, including the story from "Westward for Smelts," which gives no information of the kind supposed by M. Simrock.—Ed.

Steevens has already remarked, that stories i., 2, of Giovanni, and iv., 4, in the *Notti Piacevoli* of Straparola, bear a great resemblance to Shakespeare's comedy. Both, without doubt, treat of the same incident; and, indeed, it seems clear that Straparola, whose *novellino* appeared for the first time at Venice in 1550, must have borrowed from the *Pecorone*, which is a much older work.

Our second story[1] then shows the passage between Shakespeare's representation and that of the other novels; for in this the three women play only one trick with the student, as Shakespeare's merry wives do with Falstaff; whilst in the other stories, and in the English tales derived from them, it is rather the husbands who are bandied about. Filenio also makes propositions of love to all the three ladies, which they confide one to another, and resolve to avenge themselves upon him, just as Falstaff sends the same love-letter to Mistress Ford and Mistress Page, for which they conspire against him.

It would not have been sufficient, however, to give this second story only, inasmuch as Shakespeare borrowed from the two others the relation of Falstaff to Ford, who, in his disguise as Brooke, learns from Falstaff all that has happened to the latter with his wife—a feature of the story which evidently has its origin in the first and third of our stories.[2]

The history of the minstrel and the dealer in herbs, in the story translated by Dr. Maximilian Habicht, from an oriental MS., (Arabian Nights, Breslau, 1827, xiv., 18) is either the source of Giovanni and Straparola, or the Arabic tale has

[1] The author here alludes to the tale of Straparola. The points of resemblance with Shakespeare's plot are neither numerous nor striking, chiefly consisting in the plurality of lovers, and the ladies communicating to each other the addresses of the same gallant.—ED.

[2] Referring here to the tale of Giovanni Fiorentino, and the second story from Straparola.—ED.

been taken from one of our stories. The resemblance of both is striking, only that in the Arabic story the introduction appears to be disfigured; viz., that the herbseller advises the musician to go through the streets of the city, and to give himself out as a singer where he smells the smell of medicinal roots and drinks. The musician follows this counsel, and is taken in and entertained by the wife of the herb-dealer himself. The rest is like our story. It is much better in Giovanni, where the Professor gives the Student instruction in the art of love, and the latter meets with the Professor's wife.

Molière also has made use of one of these tales, in his *École des Femmes*, as well as in his *École des Maris*, as has often been remarked by Frenchmen. (Vide Eschenburg's translation, Zurich, 1789, 561. Compare, too, Valentine Schmidt's Contributions, 22, who considers Boccaccio's story, iii., 3, as Molière's original.) Therewith agrees also the *Bibliothèque Universelle des Romans*, Jun. 1777, p. 160. Besides, Lafontaine's *Maître en droit* is borrowed from our first story, and a comedy of the same substance and title has given great satisfaction on the French stage. (*Bib. des Romans*, Sept., 1777, p. 99.) In conclusion, we must notice the thirtieth story of Masuccio Salernitano, which comes even nearer to Boccaccio's. Compare Dunlop, ii., 371, who also derives an adventure in Gil Blas from our first story.

In our second tale, the revenge which the Student takes upon the ladies is the common property of almost all the Italian novelists. We meet with it in Giovanni Fiorentino, ii., 2, and in several others.

In the third story, Genobbia makes herself known to Nerino as Raimondo's wife, by a ring which she throws, as Nerino's present, into his drinking vessel. This is the manner in which almost all scenes of recognition are introduced in popular fictions. Compare the story of Amicus and

Amelius, and my translation of "Poor Henry," published at Berlin in 1830.[1]

[1] All criticisms hitherto published on the plot of this play are extremely unsatisfactory, and it is most probable its origin is yet to be found in some still older drama, no doubt a very slight and imperfect work, but still containing the germ of some of the incidents employed by Shakespeare. We are so accustomed to trace the great dramatist to obscure and base originals, it scarcely occurs to us to imagine any of the stories of his dramas were invented by himself. But it is not unlikely that the main part of the "Merry Wives" is in every respect his own invention; and, should the real source of any portion be discovered, it will be found to be extremely trivial and slight in the suggestions it has furnished. I am, however, almost inclined to believe with Farmer that the translation of Straparola's tale, in "Tarlton's Newes out of Purgatorie," 1590, furnished the idea of Falstaff's love adventures; and in the notes to my reprint of that translation, in the work quoted at p. 76, I have noticed several identities of expression which appear to confirm this opinion.—Ed.

VIII. THE TAMING OF THE SHREW.

Here it is necessary, for the object we have in view, to divide the play into three separate plots:

1. The prelude and interlude, or the induction.
2. The episode of Bianca and Lucentio.
3. The main action which the title of the piece indicates.

All three of these are found in the old piece which Shakespeare is supposed to have worked from. (Compare the Six Old Plays, &c., i., 159.) Probably, however, this play also is of his invention.[1] Those of our readers who cannot admit this, and yet consider the older piece as Shakespeare's original, may apply our remarks to the author of this piece.

1. We have thought it better not to admit into the text the probable original of the Induction, partly because we

[1] This opinion will not receive the assent of English readers. The crudity of the original "Taming of a Shrew" sufficiently shows it was not in any respect the work of our great dramatist. An American correspondent in Knight's Shakespeare has pointed out some similarities in this play to passages in the works of Marlowe; and the same argument has been followed by Mr. Hickson in some interesting papers in the "Notes and Queries," with the additional conjecture that Shakespeare's play was an anterior production, and the "Taming of a Shrew" imitated from it, and probably by Marlowe. The space limited to a foot-note prevents me from entering into this question; but Mr. Hickson must excuse my saying that his arguments may be interpreted by some as reasoning in a circle. There appears to me such a wonderful elaboration of the original in Shakespeare's play, that any imitator of it, however clumsy a worker, could have produced a much better play than the old "Taming of a Shrew." Mr. Dyce is confident, from the style, it was not written by Marlowe.—Ed.

attribute to the story of Goulart, which has, so considered, no merit as a work of art; partly because it is still doubtful which of the infinite number of forms in which this story appears was most immediately present to the mind of Shakespeare. This last objection, it is true, holds good of the story which we have given for the main action of the piece; but, as it is not equally obnoxious to the first, its admission into the text seemed to us less objectionable.

Goulart relates, in his *Thrésor d'histoires admirables et merveilleuses de notre temps*, under the head, *Vanité du monde magnifiquement répresentée*, the following incident:—As Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, held his court at Bruges, he was going, one evening after dinner, through the streets of the city, in the company of some of his favourites, when he found an artisan very tipsy, lying his full length on the pavement, and in the deepest sleep. It pleased the prince to give, in the person of this artisan, an instance of the vanity of life, of which he had just been speaking with his attendants. To this end, he bade his attendants carry the sleeper to his palace, lay him in one of the most magnificent of the ducal beds, and put on him a splendid nightcap. His dirty shirt was taken off, and one of the finest linen put on in its stead. When the drunkard had slept over his debauch, and awaked, pages and chamberlains of the duke came to his bedside, drew the curtains, made several deep bows, and asked, with uncovered heads, whether it would please him to rise, and what clothes he would put on; and herewith they presented to him several costly dresses. The new-made duke, who was much astonished at all these civilities, and knew not whether he was awake or dreaming, suffered himself to be dressed and taken out of the chamber. Here he was respectfully received and welcomed by several gentlemen of rank, and taken to mass, where, amidst great ceremonies, they reached him the book to kiss, as they were accustomed to do to the duke himself. After mass was over, they led

him back to the palace, gave him water to wash his hands, and set him at a richly spread table. When this was taken away, the grand chamberlain made them bring cards and a considerable sum of money. After this, they took him to the garden, then to coursing and hawking, and at last back to the palace to a splendid supper. By the light of tapers, the instruments struck up a concert; and when the table was withdrawn, lords and ladies began to amuse themselves with dancing. After this *came the representation of a merry comedy*,[1] and a banquet, in which they offered the new-coined duke so much fine and luscious wine, confectionary, and comfits of all kinds, that he was soon overcome, and fell into the deepest sleep. At the command of the duke, he was stripped of all his rich clothes, dressed in his rags, and taken to the place where they had found him the day before. Here he spent the night; and when he woke in the morning, he remembered what had happened to him the day before, without knowing whether it had actually occurred, or whether a dream had turned his head. After many soliloquies, he decided that all had been a dream, and told it his wife, his children, and neighbours, without ever suspecting the truth of the story.

Goulart probably followed Heuterus, *De Rebus Burgundicis*, where this incident is related (in book iv.) from a letter of Ludovicus Vives, as having really happened. Ludovicus Vives professes to have heard it from the lips of an old officer of the Duke's court. But Goulart was first translated into English by Edward Grimstone in 1607, and Malone places Shakespeare's adaptation of the story as early as 1594. The

[1] "Accensis luminibus, inducta sunt musica instrumenta, puellæ atque nobiles adolescentes saltarunt, *exhibitæ sunt fabulæ*, dehinc comessatio quæ hilaritate atque invitationibus ad potandum producta est in multam noctam."—Heuterus, Rerum Burgundicarum libri sex, fol. Antv., 1584. The relations of Heuterus and Goulart are evidently derived from the same source.—ED.

same occurrence, however, is told immediately from Heuterus,[1] in Burton's "Anatomy of Melancholy," of which the second edition, from which Percy quotes the passage in his Reliques of Ancient Poetry, i., 238, appeared in 1624,[2] fol. *But here there is no mention of the merry comedy*, which was played before the self-supposed duke. As little does the old ballad of Percy, in the same part of the work, entitled "The frolicksome Duke, or the tinker's good fortune," make mention of this deciding circumstance, out of which the connexion of the prelude with the main piece appears to have flowed. The age, also, of this cannot be accurately settled. For those who are unwilling to believe the poet acquainted with the French language, the conjecture of Warton must be considered the most probable, that Shakespeare made use of an old English collection of merry stories, compiled by Richard Edwards, and printed as early as 1570;[3] for this work contained the story in question.

The Duke of Burgundy can hardly have been the inventor of the jest which he perpetrated with the drunken artisan. It was suggested to him, as the author of the annotations to the Thousand and One Nights has already conjectured, (xiii., 261) by the ambassadors of the eastern princes, who had assigned to him the title of a grand duke of the West. Here he only followed the example of the Khalif Haroun Alrashid, who, according to the amusing story of the Sleeper Awakened, ("Thousand and One Nights") finding the latter

[1] I doubt this. Burton's account is professedly taken from Marco Polo, and varies considerably from the narrative of Heuterus.—ED.

[2] The first edition of this remarkable work was published at Oxford, in 1621, 4to.—ED.

[3] No copy of this edition is now known to exist, though possibly buried in some private library; but what is very likely, a fragment of a later edition, fortunately containing the story referred to, has been lately recovered and printed in the Papers of the Shakespeare Society, vol. ii. It quite agrees with Warton's account.—ED.

sleeping, had him taken to his palace, and ordered that he should be honoured by his court for a whole day, as if he had been the Commander of the Faithful himself. Placed in his old condition by a new sleeping potion, he finds the commands which he had given as Khalif put in force; and his old mother seeks in vain to convince him that he has not been the sovereign. They take him as a maniac into a madhouse, where he is handled in the most cruel manner, till he relinquishes his supposed delusion. Scarcely is he set free, when he is anew bewitched; but this time he is speedily disenchanted, and repaid for the torments he has suffered, by the friendship of the Khalif and the hand of a favourite female slave of that prince.

In the "Thousand and One Days," (translated by Friedrich Hein von der Hagen, 1827, v., 64-163) the same episode occurs in the story of Xäilun the Bashful, not so circumstantially, but perhaps still more amusingly.

By a similar deceit it is said that Hassan, the old man of the mountain, founded the Kingdom of the Assassins. (Compare von Hammer's *Geschichte der Assassinen aus Morgenländischen quellen*—History of the Assassins, from Eastern sources, Stuttgart and Tubingen, 1818.) He availed himself of the notions of the Mohammedans of a sensual Paradise, such as the Prophet has promised to his soldiers, flowing with milk and honey, where heavenly houris of unfading beauty and youth walk in an everlasting spring, and prepare by song and dance the highest enjoyments for the blessed heroes of the faith. According to the pattern of this paradise of the Prophet, Hassan laid out for himself a garden near the mountain fort of Alamut, and then gave the bravest and boldest youths to understand that he had power to make them participators of all the joys of paradise. When they exhibited a desire for these enjoyments, he administered a sleeping draught to them, and then had them conveyed into those brilliant gardens, where they found themselves, on waking, surrounded

by enchanting joys, and could not find time to recover from their astonishment at their splendour. Charming maidens enchanted them with song, dance, and caresses; and the taste of the most exquisite viands and wines heightened the intoxication of their senses, till they imagined themselves in Paradise, and wished never again to leave it. But after a while, a second draught tore them from all these joys; they found themselves hurled back into the sobriety of their former condition, where they pined away in longings, until Hassan prescribed to them the conditions on which the Prophet would often grant them these blessings. These consisted in unconditional submission to his will, in readiness to the most resolute devotion of life at every one of his signals; and so gathered Hassan his band of Fedavie (devoted), who by poison and dagger laid in terror the foundation of a kingdom. (*Vide* Leo's "Manual of the History of the Middle Ages," i., 369.)

There are some similar points, also, in the attempt of the tyrant Dionysius of Sicily with the flatterer Damocles, the sword over whose head embittered the enjoyment of the joys he had praised. But this should rather show misery in the midst of kingly splendour, than the vanity of human life. Steevens, however, finds the experiment of the tyrant so like that of the lord in Shakespeare, that he imagines some readers may believe that the poet owed this invention to Cicero's words (*Tusc. Disp.*, v., 21); and, in fact, the words printed in italics in Steevens' quotation [1] of the passage are found again in the mouth of the lord, when he tells the attendants how they are to behave to the drunkard when he awakes.

It need scarcely be hinted that Calderon's play, "Life a Dream," rests upon a similar idea; but Holberg's *Jeppe vom Berge* stands nearer Shakespeare's representation; and Holberg, again, copied from Jacob Bidermann's *Utopia*. The

[1] Not by Steevens, but quoted by him from Bishop Hurd's notes on the Epistle to Augustus. This is learned trifling.—ED.

author of this book, of which the third edition, Dilingæ, 1691, lies before us, was a learned Jesuit, who recommended himself by his erudition and the elegance of his Latin style. The fourth and fifth books of the *Utopia* are almost wholly filled with this story, which is here spun out to a great length. It is an addition peculiar to this form of the story, that the drunken peasant Menalcas, after a second draught has restored him to his original condition, is brought before the judge, and accused of the assumption of the royal dignity. He is also actually condemned in appearance, and the sentence of execution is in appearance also fulfilled upon him. This addition is also found again in Holberg. From this comedy it has again passed into a French melodrame, which we have seen under the title of "A Day in the Camp."

Our countryman, Christian Weise, availed himself of Goulart's story for his comedy of "The Dreaming Peasant," at the court of Philip the Good, in Burgundy. To this day, this matter has been preserved in several forms on the German stage. It is but a short while ago that the Theatre Royal in Berlin gave a version of the same story, under the title of "The Living Wine-Butt," which appears to rest on the story of a peasant who got intoxicated, and was in hell, and at the gates of Heaven, which forms the supplement to the popular story of the Cave of Xara. Travelling puppet-shows and the stationary theatres, which they call *Hennesschen* on the Lower Rhine, represent the prelude in a way which almost seems to point out a connexion with the old English theatre; a connexion which may, without much absurdity, be assumed.

2. In the comedy itself, the episode of Lucentio and Bianca's love is taken from Ariosto's comedy, *I Suppositi*, which had been introduced on the English stage in 1566, according to George Gascoigne's translation. Shakespeare was never guilty of so great a plagiarism as when he took the

whole of this excellent piece into his own:[1] yet he has woven in much of his own superior invention, and contrived to make what he borrowed his own, by his connexion of it with his main subject.

3. As we have already said, we cannot be certain that the story we have given is really the source of the main action of the piece. Douce, in his Illustrations of Shakespeare, i., 345, thinks he has found the main features of the comedy in an old Spanish story called *El Conde Lucanor*, 4to., 1643, the author of which was Don Juan Manuel, the nephew of Ferdinand IV. of Castile. Unfortunately, we have been unable to obtain access to this scarce book, and therefore can only regret that Douce did not think it worth while to say more of its contents, and at the same time to determine the date of its first appearance; for if the date he has given be that of the first edition,[2] it cannot be the original used by Shakespeare. This was, according to Eschenburgh's supposition, an Italian story, which, however, he was unable to produce. We know none which has more connexion with the main subject than Straparola's second novel of the eighth night. And as Straparola's novels in general, not merely his popular fictions, have the merit suggested by the talented translator of the last, of an ancient epic formation, (compare Valentine Schmidt's Popular Tales of Straparola, from the Italian, with remarks, Berlin, 1817, Dunker and Humblot, and his contributions to the history of Romance Poetry, s. 26) and which is noticed also by the brothers Grimm, ("Juvenile

[1] This is said at random, a small portion only having been employed by Shakespeare. Mr. Collier, Hist. Dram. Poet., iii., 7, calls the resemblance *fancied;* but he has judiciously changed this opinion, in his edition of Shakespeare, iii., 105.—Ed.

[2] In any case, the probability that Shakespeare could have read this work is of the slightest kind. Douce merely casually refers to it in a manner that would lead us to suppose he did not consider it of much importance to the subject. It was first published in 1575.—Ed.

and Domestic Stories, iii., 272) the present novel also is not his invention, but a common property of many times and nations. It is known even in the East, though we do not mean to deduce thence its Oriental origin. In *Kisseh Khun*, the Persian Story-teller, Berlin, Nicolai, 1829, a collection of Oriental stories from the "Sketches of Persia," the story of the Cat agrees nearest with our tale, after the fabliau entitled *La Dame qui fut écoliée.* (Compare Dunlop, ii., 444.) The story is briefly as follows:—

Sadik Beg was so much distinguished by personal advantages, that he gained the hand of Husseini, the proud daughter of the nabob. As usual in such unequal marriages, he was little more than her slave. His friends pitied his misfortune, but a diminutive fellow, named Merdek, who was completely under his wife's control, rejoiced to see another in the same condition as himself, and, with malicious joy, congratulated him on his wedding. Sadik accepts his congratulations, and assures him that he really finds himself very happy. When Merdek doubts it, Sadik relates to him how he had behaved to his wife, just after the wedding. "I went, with my sword at my side, to the apartment of Husseini, who received me in a majestic posture. As I stepped forward, a beautiful cat, clearly a great favourite, came purring to meet me. I quietly drew my sword, cut off her head, and, taking that in one hand and the body in the other, threw them both out of the window. I then turned, without any confusion, to my wife, who seemed somewhat discomposed: she made not, however, the least remark, but has shown herself up to this day an exceedingly kind and obedient wife." Merdek received this as a lesson for himself, and resolved to attempt a similar line of conduct with his Xantippe. He also killed the cat in the same manner; but, as he was going to take it up, he was struck to the ground by a hearty box on the ear from the hand of his enraged partner. Some time afterwards, Merdek's wife learned whose example the poor little man had

been trying to imitate. "There!" said she, "thou wretched fellow!" giving him another box on the ear; "thou shouldst have killed the cat on the wedding day!"

In the old German poem of the Mole (Lassberg's *Liedersaal*, ii., 499), with which is connected the Scolding Wife (L. S., i., 295), we meet with the main points of our story, together with others which we recognise in the play. "A Knight had an evil wife, whom he could not govern; and she brought up a daughter with a similar temper, who soon frightened away all her lovers. At last, however, a young Knight ventured to demand her hand. The father concealed from him none of her evil qualities; but he persisted in his wish to take her home as his wife. On her departure, her mother instructs her how she shall behave to her husband, and threatens her with her curse, if she does not behave as she herself had to her father. The bridegroom mounts his horse, and takes up his bride behind him. He leads a beautiful hound by a thong, and carries a noble falcon on his fist. In this guise he rides unattended, through by-ways, in order not to meet any one. Before long, the falcon wishes to fly after a bird; at first, the Knight warns her; but, on her making a second attempt, he crushes her scull, saying—'So must all suffer who obey not my will.' Soon after, he finds an opportunity to do the same to the dog, and afterwards to the horse on which they are riding. He now proposes to the bride that she shall suffer herself to be saddled, in order that he may ride upon her, because he is unaccustomed to going on foot. She agrees to this in fear, and carries the Knight fully half a mile; she then gives him the sweetest words, and promises to obey his will through her whole life. Then he bids her stand up, takes her by the hand kindly, and leads her to his castle, hard by, where his friends are waiting for her, and she is installed in all the rights of a wife. Thus a good wife was made from a bad bride. When the wicked mother sees her meekness, she scolds and beats her daughter;

but the father begs his son-in-law to counsel him how he also may tame his wife: then the son-in-law takes to him four servants, and explains to her that she has four 'anger-moles' on her loins, and that when these are cut out, she will soon be one of the best of wives. One of these, in fact, is really cut out; then she promises amendment, and begs him to leave her the others, which are very little ones, and do not hurt her much. This is granted her, but with the reservation, that they are also to be extirpated if her complaint shows itself again. She now becomes a modest, quiet wife; and if, ever after, she spoke a word which displeased her husband, he needed only to remind her of the 'moles,' to bring her to quietness." At the end follows the counsel—

"Let him who hath an evil wife
Full shortly rid him of her strife.
Upon a snow-sledge he shall heave her—
Her blessing be an ague fever—
Then buy a rope, and on a tree
Hang her with wolves some two or three—
No living man hath ever seen
A baser gallows-load, I ween;
Unless, to make its load more evil,
They hang thereto the horned devil."

Some features in this poem come nearer to Shakespeare's representation than our novel. For example, the Knight with his bride travels by by-ways, in order not to meet any one, and takes her home before the discipline of her subjugation is completed. On the other hand, the contrast of the two sisters is so important a point in Straparola's treatment of the story, that it is probable the poet had a third representation before him, combining the *novella* and the old German poem.

Among the German stories in Grimm, that of King Drosselbart (i., 52) treats on this subject. "A King's daughter

was wonderfully beautiful, but so proud, that no wooer was good enough for her. One was too fat—'the hogshead!' said she.[1] Another too thin: 'long and small, can't go at all.' The third too short: 'Short and fat; no skill in that.' At last she was brought to reason by King Drosselbart (Thrushbeard), a name which she had given him, because he had a chin like the beak of a thrush, from poverty and privation. (Compare in the *Pentamerone* of Basile, iv., 10 (40), *La Soperbia Castegata.*) Here, however, is already the passage into the story of Grisel.

Our story is also the source of Hans Sachs' Christmas-piece, "The bad Smoke," reprinted in Tieck's "German Theatre," i., 19-28. Here, however, the battle for the breeches and the rule of the house actually takes place, and the wife has the best of it. The husband not only leaves her in undisturbed possession of them, but also girds her with a knife and pockets.

Straparola, also, inculcates the instruction here given for the taming of bad wives, namely, in the story, xii., 3 (Compare Valentine Schmidt's *Märchen Saal*, s. 188, with the remarks):—"A man who understands the speech of beasts laughs when he hears a mare speaking with her foal. The wife desires to know why he laughs; but he will not tell her, because this would be the cause of his death. She persists in her request, however, and threatens to hang herself, if it is not complied with. Then the husband promises to do it; but she must wait till he has made his will. In the mean time, he hears the house-dog lecturing the cock on his mirth, at a time when he should be in grief for the death of his master. But the cock answers, that the master is in fault, and the cause of his own misfortune; for, according to Aristotle, in the first book of his Politics, the man should be the head of the wife. He himself (the cock) has a hundred wives, and

[1] There is a similarity here to the account given of Beatrice, in "Much Ado about Nothing," iii., 1.—Ed.

knows how to keep them all in awe and subject to him; he chastises one and then the other, and does not spare now and then a stout blow: but the master, who has only one wife, cannot govern her," &c.

This story, too, is known in the East; for it is found in the Arabian Nights (i., 23), so similar in every respect, that we must assume, with Valentine Schmidt, an external connexion, without, however, insisting on its Oriental origin, which we should not be too hasty in doing.[1] The same means are recommended in innumerable jests and stories; and we intend, at a future period, to quote the second novel of the fifth book of Giovanni as one of the best.

We have yet to speak of the kindred German play, which Eschenburg has discovered in Gottsched's collection of German dramas. It bears the title, "An art above all arts to make a bad wife good. Formerly practised by an Italian cavalier, and now fortunately imitated by a German nobleman, and represented in a very merry comedy." It agrees with Shakespeare's play so accurately, that Eschenburg is convinced that either the two writers must accurately have copied one original, or the German author taken Shakespeare's piece for the foundation of his own. Eschenburg is disposed to decide on the latter supposition; but the profession of the German composer, that his work is of Italian origin, leads him astray; for he understands this as if an old Italian comedy had been extant, of which both the English and the German play were free imitations and verbal transla-

[1] A similar story is found in Sanscrit, but with so much more simplicity, that it would appear to be earlier in that language than in Arabic. In the Indian story, the human personages are a Rajah and his bride; and the former laughs on hearing a dialogue between the rear and van of an army of white ants; the rear inquire why the march is stopped; to which the latter answer that a Rajah's bridal procession is in their way. "Take the shaft of the palanquin, and toss it out of our way," says the impatient speaker behind. "No," replied the other; "that would be a sin; for the persons of a bride and bridegroom are sacred."

tions. But this very concluding notice of the German composer leaves no doubt that he guessed at the Italian origin of this piece, delivered to him by the German comedians, only by the Italian names, which he has changed for German ones. Probably his original was the piece mentioned in Gottsched's "Necessary Provision for the History of German Dramatic Poetry," entitled, "The strange wedding of Petruvio with the shrew Catherine," in which he cannot have altered much more than the names. Both pieces show how early Shakespeare's "Taming of the Shrew" was domesticated on the German stage.

IX. ALL'S WELL THAT ENDS WELL.

Painter's Giletta of Narbon,[1] in his "Palace of Pleasure," 4to., 1566, i., 88, a translation of the novel of Boccace, is regarded as the most immediate source of Shakespeare's play. This tale had been previously made use of for a comedy; namely, by the Italian B. Accolti, in his *Virginia*, which was in print as early as 1513. Perhaps a translation of this play had been brought out upon the English stage, and had given the poet the hint for this theme. Farmer's conjecture that "All's Well that Ends Well" was once called "Love's Labour Won," is very probable; and an old writer ascribes a piece of that name to Shakespeare.

According to Valentine Schmidt's conjecture, (Contributions, s. 26) Shakespeare borrowed from the old French or Provençal; but no such source has yet been shown. Straparola's *novella* vii. is connected with it, but other tokens are

[1] Reprinted in the second volume of Mr. Collier's Shakespeare's Library, 1843. The novel is entitled, "Giletta, a phisician's doughter of Narbon, healed the Frenche kyng of a fistula, for reward wherof she demaunded Beltramo, counte of Rossiglione, to husbande. The counte beyng maried againste his will, for despite fled to Florence, and loved another. Giletta, his wife, by pollicie founde meanes to lye with her husbande in place of his lover, and was begotten with child of two soonnes; whiche, knowen to her husbande, he received her againe, and afterwardes he lived in greate honor and felicitie." This is the mere outline of a plot Shakespeare has so admirably adopted, clothed, and made his own. The Virginia of Accolti I know only through the medium of Dunlop, ii., 271, who gives an extract from the argument prefixed to it, from which it appears that it is taken, with very little variation, from Boccaccio.—Ed.

there mentioned, instead of the ring. Dunlop's dogmatic decision on our *novella* is as devoid of taste, as the opinion of Johnson, combated by Schlegel, upon Shakespeare's play. Dunlop finds the conditions made by Beltram out of taste, though they contain, as it subsequently appears, every thing which can serve to remove his objection to the marriage.

In our sixth chapter we have treated of the family of stories to which this novel belongs, and compared many tales connected with it. The idea which connects all these—the triumph of female fidelity and submission over the cruelty of man—is here, however, more closely defined by the singular manner in which the victory is decided. Whilst, in other stories of this kind, the cruelty of the men appears from the beginning as a subject of blame, Beltram, on the contrary, has full right to dislike a wife whom an external power has forced upon him, and who neither was, nor, according to his idea, could be, the wife of his choice. The last consideration is overcome by Giletta in part only when she gains the love of his subjects to such a degree, that they blame the Count for his harshness towards his wife; and the last remains in full force, and can only be removed by the fulfilment of the required conditions. These, however, are not arbitrary, but serve to supply all that is wanting in the person of Giletta. The Count, indeed, has married her, but against his will, and only at the command of the King, to whom he has declared that external force may give his hand, but not his heart, and that he himself will never be contented with his marriage. But if Giletta possessed the ring to which the Count attached so much importance, he would have united himself to her of free will and of his own choice; for the ring which a man presents to a maid can only be understood as a vow and pledge of truth. In this manner, the demand of free choice, to which the Count is entitled, would have been satisfied, and one might imagine that he would have carried this request no further. Notwithstanding the obstinacy aroused by forcing

upon him a bride whom he did not wish, still his pride of nobility would not have been satisfied; and perhaps the hereditary prejudices of his station would even have released him from the vow made by this gift of the ring to a woman of birth so inferior to his own. For this reason, the second condition is necessary—that Giletta shall not only bear the ring on her finger, but have a child by him, if she hopes to conquer his aversion. He would then be obliged, for the child's sake, to overlook all respects; for the child is another self, his flesh and blood, as it is that of the mother with whom it is to reconcile him, and to serve as a mediator. This sentiment is beautifully expressed by Sacontala, who belongs to the same family, in the *Mahabharat* (Fr. Schlegel's Works, ix., 299 *et seq.*)—

"Garments of silk, and woman, and waves of swelling ocean,
Are not so soft to the touch as the touch of a babe's embraces.
Thus art thou soothed here by this child with his glances of fondness;
Earth has no sweeter joy than the touch of a baby's caresses.
Born of thy body is he, flesh of thy flesh begotten—
See him, a second self, like a face in the fountain mirrored.
As from the fire of the hearth they take the fire for the altar,
So is he of thyself a part, but thyself undiminished.
Oft as the spouse to his spouse approacheth, himself is renascent
Of her who becometh a mother through him, as the sages have spoken."

Beltram's pride of nobility is compelled to give way to the irresistible charm of the child for the father, who sees himself born again in him: for the voice of Nature silences all considerations of rank and prejudice. We even overlook the circumstance that Giletta has gained the ring in a manner which makes it no longer a pledge of promised fidelity and conjugal love, for the promise was not made to her; and it was unnecessary for Boccaccio to give Beltram two children from Giletta instead of one.

We might suspect a nearer connexion of the story of Sacontala with that of Giletta, inasmuch as in the former the

ring and the child also occur, with the same meaning and operation: but the present state of our knowledge of the story of *Sacontala* does not allow this conjecture to be confirmed. We are acquainted with the story in two forms, differing considerably from each other. In the episode of the *Mahabharat*, of which we have just quoted a fragment, the ring does not occur; and it is not clear, from the fragment given by Schlegel, why Dushmanta at first rejects and denies Sacontala, until at last the recognition and reconciliation with the rejected follows that speech of hers. Perhaps, as Schlegel remarks, it was done to try her; probably because Dushmanta feared that suspicion of the child's legitimacy might arise, if he so easily consented to the recognition. In the drama of *Kalidas*, which will be known to our readers from the translation of G. Forster, Sacontala, after marrying Dushmanta, according to the form Gandharva, that is to say, by mutual agreement, without any other marriage ceremony, in her grief at the departure of her husband, has not noticed the angry saint, Durvasas, who enters her house as a guest; and for a punishment of this violation of hospitality, she is cursed by him:—

> "He of whom thou ponderest,
> On whom thy heart with such a worship hangs,
> While the pure jewel of a true devotion
> Asks a guest's sacred rights, and asks in vain—
> He shall forget thee at your future meeting,
> Even as the sobered reveller forgets
> The senseless words his nightly wassail spake."

But he softens this curse by the addition that the enchantment shall disappear when her husband sees his ring again. This had been given her by Dushmanta, as a pledge of his truth, when she asked him, at their parting, "How long will my lord remember me?" but Sacontala has lost it; and when she is brought pregnant into the palace of the King, to be put in possession of her rights as a wife, she cannot overcome

the enchantment which clouds the memory of Dushmanta. She is therefore driven out of doors, but is led by her mother, the nymph Menaca, to the Palace of Aditi. The ring, which a fish had swallowed, is brought by a fisherman to Dushmanta, who at the sight of it remembers Sacontala and his vow. Here, therefore, the ring has the same signification as in the story; it is, indeed, a *decisive* ring, (it is called the *fatal* ring, in the English translation) but no enchanted ring, though it destroys an enchantment. The King has given it to Sacontala, as a pledge that he will not forget her; and this purpose it fully answers. Still it appears magical in its effects; and it does not, therefore, stand in the way of those who would consider a connexion between this and the *novella*, that in Boccaccio the ring of Beltram, according to his representation, possesses magical properties. It is worth while here to compare the story in Grimm, i. 365, and what is hereafter said of it. In *Kalidas*, Dushmanta finds Sacontala, after a long and vain search, in Aditi's palace, having before met with that son, as a young hero whom he had begotten of her immediately after their marriage. Thus the child does not appear, in *Kalidas*, in the same form as in our *novella*, and, as we have seen, in the *Mahabharat*; he does not cause the father to recognise his mother, but only makes known to him the discovery of the desired lost one. If, however, we might connect the two forms of the *Sacontala*, or assume, as is very probable, that, in its original form, the ring appeared in the same signification as in *Kalidas*, and the child in that of the *Mahabharat*, it would be impossible to doubt the identity of this story with that of *Gilette*.

X. MUCH ADO ABOUT NOTHING.

Mrs. Lennox, in her "Shakspeare Illustrated," has translated an episode in the fifth book of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*,[1] as the probable source of this piece; but Farmer and Steevens have already remarked that the *novella* of Bandello is more similar to Shakespeare's story. In Ariosto is found only the first part of Hero's history, her false accusation: her apparent death, and final resuscitation, in which she is introduced to her former bridegroom as a relation of his first bride, and is

[1] This tale was translated into English as early as 1565, by Peter Beverley: "Historie of Ariodanto and Jeneura, Daughter to the King of Scottes, in English verse," 16mo. Printed by Thomas East, n.d. The date of 1565 is taken from the Stationers' Registers. See Collier's Extracts, i., 140. It commences as follows:—

"Amongst the vanquisht regions
That worthy Brute did winne,
There is a soyle, in these our dayes,
With ocean seas cloasde in,
That fertile is, and peopled well,
And stor'd with pleasant fieldes,
And hath for tillage lucky land,
That yearly profit yieldes."

It is of extreme rarity, and a copy was sold, at the sale of the Gordonstoun collection, for £31 10*s*. Mr. Collier mentions that a "History of Ariodante and Geneuora" was played before Queen Elizabeth, by Mulcaster's children, in 1582-3. This is an extremely curious fact, and gives ground for a conjecture that the incidents of Shakespeare's play had been thus early employed in the English drama. According to Skottowe, the principal incident may be traced to a period as early as the date of the Spanish romance, "Tirant the White," composed in the dialect of Catalonia, about the year 1400.—Ed.

married to him, are the invention of Bandello. Shakespeare, nevertheless, may have known Ariosto's representation of this first part of the story, since, in his piece, as in Ariosto, the chambermaid plays the part of her mistress at the window, a circumstance which does not occur in Bandello. This variation he might, however, have invented himself, or borrowed from an imitation of Ariosto's story, in Spenser's "Fairy Queen" (book ii., ch. 4). If Shakespeare could not read Ariosto in the original, it was accessible to him in the translation by Harrington, published as early as 1591; or, indeed, he might have become acquainted with this very episode from a separate poetical translation by George Turbervile,[1] which appeared a few years earlier.

As Dunlop conjectures (ii., 456), Ariosto, whom Bandello has perhaps copied, may himself have borrowed from the chivalric romance of "Tyran le Blanc," where the substance of the first part of our novel occurs for the first time. It is not requisite to give an extract from the splendid episode of Ariosto, since Eschenberg has already done so, and the *Orlando Furioso* is in every body's hands, by the translation of Gries and Streckfuss. The ninth *novella* in the introduction to Cinthio's *Hecatommithi* also represents a similar deceit as is here practised upon Fenicie; but there it is contrived by a servant-maid, who has fallen in love with her master, against her mistress.

According to the assumption of English critics, the *novella* of Bandello was known to Shakespeare by the translation in Belleforest's "Tragic Stories" (Lyons, 1594, 12mo., vol. iii.) It is one of the best productions of this novelist; and Shakespeare has kept very close to it, in the first part of his play: the comic portion, the loves of Benedict and Beatrice, appears to be entirely his own invention.

The content of this *novella*, as a popular story, is very

[1] This translation does not appear to be extant. The information is given on the authority of Harington.—Ed.

little; but, if we assume an epic substratum, it belongs, according to the idea, to the cycle of which we have spoken at large in our ninth chapter.

The story has also been made use of by our countryman Ayrer, a contemporary of Shakespeare, for one of his best pieces, his drama of the "Beautiful Phœnicia," which keeps very close to the story. Tieck ("German Theatre," i., 22) conjectures that Jacob Ayrer made use of an older English play, which was also Shakespeare's model.

XI. THE WINTER'S TALE.

"The Pleasant History of Dorastus and Fawnia," by Robert Greene, was published in 1588.[1] This date, which Dr. Farmer has found upon an impression of this story, decides against the long current assumption, that it had its origin in the play. A comparison with the latter shows that Shakespeare has altered all the names, with the exception of the scene, Bohemia; and this of itself leads to the suspicion that he did not retain it without a cause. The pedantry of certain English critics is ridiculous, who value themselves far too much on their geographical knowledge, according to which Bohemia does not on any side reach the sea;[2] and who are so seriously alarmed by this preservation of the name. Had Shakespeare taken Bohemia for a country on the coast, this error would certainly have been canvassed at the representation of the piece; for there were doubtless people even then

[1] This edition is entitled, "Pandosto, the Triumph of Time," and is reprinted in Mr. Collier's Shakespeare's Library, vol. i. The later editions appear under the title, "The Pleasant Historie of Dorastus and Faunia." It has sustained its popularity as a chap-book to the present century.—Ed.

[2] The well-known error of geography here alluded to is, of course, to be ascribed to the original novel. M. Simrock bandies words with English critics, but some of the latter would smile at the idea of Shakespeare voluntarily falling into a geographical error with the object here ascribed to him. Greene was the author of the blunder; and without any insult to the extent of knowledge on such matters possessed by the poet, we may assume the possibility of his presuming that some of the dependencies or provinces of Bohemia reached to the coast.—Ed.

who would gladly have exhibited their cheap wisdom in criticising the poet. If, for instance, he had written Bithynia instead of Bohemia, as some one has proposed to read, the whole mischief would have been avoided; but, as he has neglected this, he must have had an object in doing so, and this is our conjecture. We think that this error rather suited the fabulous nature of the story, which runs into the region of fable and the age of poesy, better than the most accurate geographical definition. The same may be said of the so-called anachronisms in this play.

The most remarkable alteration made by Shakespeare, the preservation of Bellaria (Hermione), who in the story actually dies, reminds us of the preservation and subsequent discovery of Lucina, in "Apollonius of Tyre," which Shakespeare had previously made use of, in his "Pericles of Tyre." Shakespeare has also invented some persons of the play; for example, Antigonus, Paulina, and Autolycus. According to the Greek mythology, Autolycus was, as is well known, a son of Hermes and Chione, or Philonis. When Warburton pretends that the whole speech of Autolycus, on his first appearance, is taken from Lucian's book on astrology, where Autolycus speaks much more in the same style, he must have been dreaming. In this book, (it is by no means certain that it is rightly assigned to Lucian) the myth that Autolycus is a son of Hermes is explained thus: that the art of stealing came to him from Hermes, under whose star he was born; and, at most, the passage in Shakespeare contains only an allusion to this. Douce, in his "Illustrations of Shakespeare," has already noticed this, and referred to Ovid's "Metamorphoses," xi., 291-345.

Greene's story is a mixture of popular stories and pastorals, in the ornate taste of his time, which had become the fashion by John Lyly's "Euphues," and Thomas Lodge's "Rosalind, or Euphues' Golden Legacy." With respect to

the latter work, the source of Shakespeare's "As You Like It," see the seventeenth chapter.

Our story has no epic foundation, but some popular traits of popular fiction; for example, the exposure of the child, and its preservation, are interwoven. The whole appears to be Greene's invention; and this circumstance dispenses with the necessity of further references.

XII., XIII. TWO GENTLEMEN OF VERONA; AND WHAT YOU WILL.

We class these two pieces together, because the novel of Bandello, which Shakespeare followed in "What You Will," furnished the Spanish writer, Montemayor, with the materials for an episode of his *Diana* which again has been used by Shakespeare, in the "Two Gentlemen of Verona;" thus Bandello's story may be considered as the foundation of the two plays of Shakespeare.

Bandello's tales were extant in 1554. Montemayor's "Diana," therefore, which was printed in 1560 in seven books, may have been indebted to the Italian novelist. That this is the case, and how it has happened, the reader will see by comparing the tale of *Felismena* with the story of Bandello. It seems to have been the first intention of Montemayor to follow his original more closely than he eventually did; at least, the introduction of the story of *Felismena* shows us that her twin brother, whose name is not mentioned, was to have answered the unfortunate passion of Celia for Felismena, disguised under the name of Valerio; as Paolo, in Bandello, indemnifies Catella. It is true that Montemayor (p. 149) lets Celia die of despair at the coldness of the page, but probably he had here another novel of Bandello's in his mind (compare X., "Much Ado about Nothing"), and meant that she should be restored, as Fenicie is, and then be married to Felismena's twin brother. Montemayor does not, indeed, mention the likeness of the twins, but probably he had reasons for not indicating this too soon; besides, in twins such a likeness is tacitly supposed. Montemayor's "Diana" was

continued, first by Alonso Perez, a physician of Salamanca (1564), and then by Gil Polo (1574), to which latter Cervantes allows even higher praise than to Montemayor himself. Neither of these continuators, however, has taken up the intention of Montemayor. Celia dies in reality, and Felismena's brother does not fulfil the purpose for which Montemayor appears to have introduced him.

If the untimely death of Montemayor has withheld from his readers an important portion of the invention of Bandello, Shakespeare (who could hardly have made use of the translation of Montemayor, which did not appear till 1598, and even Malone places the "Two Gentlemen of Verona" in 1595) went still further in this play;[1] for though he gives from Montemayor's episode the history of Felismena (Julia), from the letter of Don Felis (Proteus) and her quarrel with the chambermaid, to the infidelity of Felis (whom Felismena serves disguised as a page, and courts another woman for her lover and master); yet he suppresses still more of the relation of Bandello, since Silvia (Celia, Catella), whose heart is already occupied by Valentine, does not fall in love with the page. But it is precisely the portion of the story here suppressed which makes the main incident of his later "What You Will;" whilst in this latter the first part of Bandello's tale is wanting, inasmuch as we learn nothing of the earlier love of the Duke for Viola. In reply to the censure, in itself unjust, which English critics bestow on Shakespeare for this omission, it should be remembered that it was necessary to avoid a repetition of the same incident.

1. In the "Two Gentlemen of Verona," Shakespeare has contrived very artfully to connect the episode of Montemayor with an action perfectly distinct from it; Proteus, while he is faithless to his beloved, also practising treason against his

[1] The similarities between the English translation of Montemayor and the "Two Gentlemen of Verona" create a difficulty not readily explained. See my note at the end of this section, p. 112.—Ed.

friend. The relation of the two friends to one another and to Silvia; the fickleness of Proteus (indicated in his very name), who is false to his friend for the sake of an unreturned passion, in contrast with the noble fidelity of Valentine, who is willing to sacrifice his tenderly-returned love to the friend whose falsehood he has detected, form the main incident of this play,[1] to which the love of Julia to Proteus serves only as an episodical by-play. The source whence Shakespeare borrowed his principal incident was probably one of the numerous modifications of the friendship-story, which, in its German form, has always for its subject the collision of love with friendship. Which of these was present to his imagination we cannot decide, since the source of this part of his play is not yet discovered. Tieck ("German Theatre," i., 27) suspects it, without any very weighty grounds, in an older English play, of which an imitation, he says, has been preserved in an old German tragedy, "Julia and Hypolito." It is quite possible that Shakespeare may here have followed no distinct model, and may only have drawn upon his general knowledge of the poems and popular books belonging to this cycle of ideas, but still more upon his own imagination; the beginning of the play, however, where Valentine insists upon going to the court of the *Emperor* (it is true that he is afterwards always called the *Duke* of Milan), and there falls in love with the daughter of his lord, reminds us very distinctly of "Amicus and Amelius," one of the most celebrated friendship-stories, which perhaps was the foundation of the

[1] The tale of the "Two Gentlemen of Verona" is evidently based on love and friendship, the latter being the predominating influence. I am at a loss to account for the supposed necessity of explaining away the last scene in a sense different from that adopted by M. Simrock; for although this incident does not appear like the poet's own invention, it merely points more decisively to the existence of an original tale not yet discovered; and in many old novels similar instances of perfect friendship may be found. The old English romance of "Amis and Amiloun" might have been known to Shakespeare.—ED.

tale made use of by Shakespeare. The part of the false Harderich, in whose place Thurio stands at first, is here carried out by Proteus, in whom, from this time, love triumphs over friendship; whilst Valentine ceases not to bear himself as a pattern for true friends. Tieck, in his second part of the poet's life (*Novellen Kranz*, for 1831), directed his attention especially to this play, when he makes the poet experience, with his friend Lord Southampton, something of the same painful nature which happens to Valentine with Proteus. It is very possible that Shakespeare may have represented his own experience in the "Two Gentlemen of Verona;" but the composition of this play falls into an earlier period than the incident with the Earl. How much, however, Shakespeare was familiar with the thoughts and feelings of friendship is shown by his noble "Merchant of Venice," which may be considered the most beautiful work that has ever been composed on the idea of that virtue.

Malone mentions, in a note to "What You Will," an eclogue of Barnaby Googe, which appeared in 1563, and conjectures that Shakespeare made use of it in this piece. This, however, is nothing more than a versified imitation of the episode of Montemayor,[1] as may be clearly seen from the verses:

> "He had a page, Valerius named,
> Whom so muche he dyd truste," &c.;

for Felismena, as Don Felis' page, called herself Valerio. In "What You Will," however, Shakespeare kept closer to the story of Bandello.

As Steevens, and more recently Dunlop (iii., 219), have already remarked, those scenes of the "Two Gentlemen of Verona" in which Valentine connects himself with robbers and becomes their leader had for their model a passage in

[1] This is put somewhat too strongly. The tale of Montemayor may possibly have suggested the eclogue, but it is clearly not a metrical imitation of it.—ED.

Sidney's "Arcadia," where a similar circumstance happens to Pyrocles. The resemblance, however, does not seem to us sufficiently striking[1] to induce us to separate from the context a second extract from this pastoral romance, which we had better reason to copy in "King Lear."

2. Shakespeare became acquainted with our *novella* of Bandello (ii., 36), according to the common opinion of his English commentators, from an English translation, now lost, of the seventh story in the fourth book of Belleforest's *Histoires Tragiques, extraites des œuvres du Bandel;* but the existence of such a translation cannot be shown. When Dunlop (ii., 464) suspects that Bandello has copied from Cinthio's eighth novel of the fifth decade, and adds (iii., 171) that Montemayor has used, along with our story of Bandello, that of Cinthio, it must be remarked, on the other hand, that Cinthio's *Hecatommithi*, though written earlier than Bandello's novel, yet appeared later in print, and that in Montemayor's episodic relation of *Felismena* there appears not the slightest trace of an acquaintance with Cynthio's stories. Shakespeare, however, might easily have known and made use of them. The scene of this story, of which the *dénouement* rests also on the resemblance of two twins, is laid, like "What You Will," in Illyria, and commences with a shipwreck, in which a nobleman flying from Naples with his wife is separated from her, and both of them from their two children. Afterwards, the latter, who dress sometimes as women, sometimes as men, are the subjects of mistakes of identity similar to those in Bandello and Shakespeare. The shipwreck, in this introduction of Cinthio's story, justly seemed to Shakespeare a fitter and more poetic vehicle to introduce the separation of the brother and sister than the taking of Rome, in Bandello. But it is worthy of notice,

[1] The resemblance is, indeed, very slight; but there is in that work an encomium on solitude, which may be compared with Valentine's soliloquy in act v., sc. 4.—Ed.

that in the "Comedy of Errors," an earlier piece imitated from Plautus, he has also introduced a shipwreck for the purpose of separating the twins from each other and from their parents. We have not, however, thought it worth while to quote Cinthio's story on account of this slight resemblance, as Shakespeare has followed Bandello in every other particular; only Antonio's mistake, when he requires from Viola the purse which he has given to Sebastian, offers a distant resemblance to a scene in Cinthio's story, when the Velonese imagines he has discovered his fugitive foster-son in the disguised sister of the latter, and has her put in prison. With respect to Bandello's story, one is surprised at the laxity of Italian manners, which permitted such pictures to be drawn by a bishop; for such was Bandello from 1550. Setting this aside, the rich invention of the novel has great merit, though the representation is faulty, and the first long visit of the disguised Nicuola to the Signora Pippa is entirely purposeless.

It is impossible to deny entirely an epic foundation to the story, though it is not immediately visible. Not to mention the resemblance of the twins, Lattantio's forgetfulness of Nicuola is a genuine trait of popular fiction, recurring very frequently in tales and ballads: we need only mention "Sigurd and Dushmanta." In general, such forgetfulness in these stories is caused by a philtre, which is here wanting; but Montemayor introduces it with a reverse effect, Don Felis being cured of his passion for Celia, and given back to Felismena by means of a magic draught. The same draught may have a lethal operation in Montemayor, as Don Felis needs only to forget Celia in order to remember Felismena. The frequent use which is made in the "Diana" of this potion reminds us strongly of Shakespeare's "Midsummer Night's Dream," where the juice of a flower dropped on the eyelids of a sleeper makes him enamoured of the first being that meets his eyes on waking, on which enchantment the whole mechanism of the play rests.

The resolution of Nicuola to enter the service of her faithless lover disguised as a page frequently occurs in tales, in close connexion with this forgetfulness. In the German story of the "Twelve Hunters" (Grimm, i., 365), the forgotten bride of the prince enters his service with twelve other maidens, disguised as hunters. "Now it happened that they were in the chase, and the news came that the King's bride was on her way. When the true bride heard that, she was in such grief that her heart almost broke, and she fell senseless upon the earth. The young King thought that something had happened to his favourite huntsman, ran to him, and would help him, and pulled his glove off. And then he saw the ring which he had given to his first bride, and, when he looked in her face, he recognised her." Just in the same manner Julia swoons, when the magnanimous Valentine offers himself to gain Sylvia for Proteus, in whose service she is. When she is asked what is the matter with her, she speaks of the ring which Proteus has commissioned her to give to Sylvia, but, instead of it, she shows that which Proteus had first presented to her. When Proteus sees this ring, he recognises her, is touched by her fidelity, and gives his heart to her again; so that this episode of the play ends very similar to that of the story. Shakespeare found this conclusion neither in Bandello nor in Montemayor, and it would have been very singular if he had invented the old conclusion without knowing the story. It is more probable that this story was known to him as well as to Bandello, and that, as the latter departed from it, the former returned to it. It would be more difficult to show the source of the trait in Bandello, where the new mistress of the faithless lover falls in love with the disguised bride of her admirer, and her disappointment is atoned for by the twin brother of the disguised maiden. In the "Two Gentlemen of Verona," Shakespeare omits this invention of Bandello; and hence it happens that the history of Proteus and Julia, in this play,

has a resemblance with the story, which is not unlikely to lead to an erroneous impression.

Note by the Editor.

The "Diana" of George of Montemayor was one of the books which had the rare merit of escaping the flames that consumed the greater portion of the library of Don Quixote. "I am of opinion we ought not to burn it, but only take out that part of it which treats of the magician Felicia and the enchanted water, as also all the longer poems, and let the work escape with its prose, and the honour of being the first in that kind." The "Diana" deserved the praise of Cervantes; and it appears to have been extremely popular in England during the later years of the sixteenth century. It was translated by Bartholomew Yonge somewhere about 1582 or 1583, by Thomas Wilson in 1595 or 1596, and parts of it were rendered into English by Edward Paston and the celebrated Sir Philip Sidney;[1] but Yonge's version was the only one published, and that did not appear till 1598, the year in which we first hear of the "Two Gentlemen of Verona" in the pages of Meres.

The fact of the popularity of the "Diana" in England at this period is of considerable importance; for, although it would seem that Shakespeare could not have read the printed translation by Yonge before he composed the play, there are similarities between a story contained in the former and the drama too minute to be accidental. Mr. Collier says the incident common to the two is only such as might be found in other romances, and limits the resemblance to the assumption of male attire by the lady. But the most striking similitude is contained in the account of the incident of bringing the letter, and the waywardness of Julia; and I subjoin an extract from the "Diana," which will exhibit even several of Shakespeare's own expressions, and prove that Mr. Collier's opinion is untenable:—

"When he had, therefore, by sundry signs, as by tilts and tourneys, and by prancing up and down upon his proud genet before my windows, made it manifest that he was in love with me—for at the first I did not so well perceive it—he determined in the end to write a letter unto me; and having practised divers times before with a maid of mine, and at length, with many gifts and fair promises, gotten her good will and furtherance,

[1] This fact, hitherto unnoticed, is obtained from the later editions of the "Arcadia."

he gave her the letter to deliver to me. But to see the means that Rosina made unto me—for so was she called—the dutiful services and unwonted circumstances before she did deliver it, the oaths that she sware unto me, and the subtle words and serious protestations she used, it was a pleasant thing, and worthy the noting. To whom, nevertheless, with an angry countenance I turned again, saying, If I had not regard of mine own estate, and what hereafter might be said, I would make this shameless face of thine be known ever after for a mark of an impudent and bold minion; but because it is the first time, let this suffice that I have said, and give thee warning to take heed of the second.

"Methinks I see now the crafty wench, how she held her peace, dissembling very cunningly the sorrow that she conceived by my angry answer, for she feigned a counterfeit smiling, saying, Jesus! mistress, I gave it you, because you might laugh at it, and not to move your patience with it in this sort; for if I had any thought that it would have provoked you to anger, I pray God he may show his wrath as great towards me as ever he did to the daughter of any mother. And with this she added many words more, as she could do well enough, to pacify the feigned anger and ill opinion that I had conceived of her, and taking her letter with her, she departed from me. This having passed thus, I began to imagine what might ensue thereof, and love, methought, did put a certain desire into my mind to see the letter, though modesty and shame forbade me to ask it of my maid, especially for the words that had passed between us, as you have heard. And so I continued all that day until night in variety of many thoughts; but when Rosina came to help me to bed, God knows how desirous I was to have her entreat me again to take the letter, but she would never speak unto me about it, nor (as it seemed) did so much as once think thereof. Yet to try if by giving her some occasion I might prevail, I said unto her: And is it so, Rosina, that Don Felix, without any regard to mine honour, dares write unto me? These are things, mistress, said she demurely to me again, that are commonly incident to love; whereof I beseech you pardon me, for if I had thought to have angered you with it, I would have first pulled out the balls of mine eyes. How cold my heart was at that blow, God knows, yet did I dissemble the matter, and suffer myself to remain that night only with my desire, and with occasion of little sleep. And so it was, indeed, for that, methought, was the longest and most painful night that ever I passed. But when, with a slower pace than I desired, the wished day was come, the discreet and subtle Rosina came into my chamber to

help me to make me ready, in doing whereof of purpose she let the letter closely (*secretly*) fall, which, when I perceived—What is that that fell down? said I; let me see it. It is nothing, mistress, said she. Come, come, let me see it, said I. What! move me not, or else tell me what it is. Good Lord, mistress, said she, why will you see it: it is the letter I would have given you yesterday. Nay, that it is not, said I: wherefore show it me, that I may see if you lie or no. I had no sooner said so, but she put it into my hands, saying, God never give me good if it be any other thing; and although I knew it well indeed, yet I said, What? this is not the same, for I know that well enough, but it is one of thy lover's letters: I will read it, to see in what need he standeth of thy favour."

It is by no means impossible that the "Two Gentlemen of Verona," as we now possess it, has received additions from its author's hands to what was perhaps originally a very meagre production. This conjecture would well agree with what we know to have been the dramatic usage of the time; and it seems difficult to account on any other supposition for the use Shakespeare has made of the tale of *Felismena*. The absolute origin of the entire plot has possibly to be discovered in some Italian novel. The error in the first folio of Padua for Milan, in act ii., sc. 5, has perhaps to be referred to some scene in the original tale.

Should the original novel, supposing one to exist, ever be discovered, it will probably be found to assimilate more to the ancient tales of perfect friendship than might be suspected from Shakespeare's play. In venturing upon this conjecture, I have been guided in a great measure by the romantic generosity of Valentine in the last act, which scarcely looks like a free result of the poet's own invention. It is quite true he might have found similar instances in several old friendship tales, but it seems more natural to suppose that he transferred it from the same source to which we are indebted for the play, than that the incident was introduced from another copy. That any editor can have a doubt as to Shakespeare's intention to represent Valentine's generosity so great, that, in the excess of his rapture for the repentance of Proteus, he gives up to him all his right in Silvia, would be improbable, had we not two late instances of attempts to explain the scene in a different manner; but any interpretation which destroys the literal meaning of Valentine's gift—

> "And that my love may appear plain and free,
> All that was mine in Silvia I give thee—

renders Julia's exclamation—"O me unhappy!"—which immediately follows, entirely unmeaning. Mr. Collier thinks Valentine suspected Silvia's purity from her position with Proteus in the forest, and is therefore giving his friend a present no longer desirable to himself; but, if this supposition were adopted, it would completely destroy the poetry and romance of Valentine's character.

XIV. PERICLES, PRINCE OF TYRE.

The English critics who either altogether deny Shakespeare's authorship of this piece, or attribute to him a very small portion of it, ascribe the great approbation[1] which it has received from its first introduction upon the English boards to the great interest of the story upon which it is founded: and this certainly not without reason; for even if we consider Shakespeare as the author, still it is one of his earliest and weakest works, and this immoderate approbation can hardly be otherwise explained. Even the fact that the poet kept so close to his original shows his respect for it, if only on account of its popularity.

The romance of "Apollonius" has been translated into all languages; and the great number of manuscripts, editions, and imitations of it, which are found among all nations, justify the opinion of its internal value.

The labours of such distinguished writers as Velser, Fabricius, Douce, and others, have not been successful hitherto in discovering the author of this romance, but all

[1] There scarcely appears to be sufficient authority for this assertion. The poems and epigrams in which the play is mentioned seem to be somewhat contradictory on this point. Mr. Knight has collected them in an interesting paper at the close of his edition of the play. The difficulty is to decide whether it is insinuated that the drama was not well received, or that it is a bad production of the author. Flecknoe's epigram would seem to imply that it met with success far beyond its merits; but this testimony, which is clearer than any of the others produced by the commentators, is the only one omitted by Mr. Knight.—Ed.

agree that it was written in the fifth or sixth century after Christ, and *in Greek.* Godfrey of Viterbo seems to have considered it as a portion of real history, for he relates it at full length, in his "Pantheon, or Universal Chronicle," as an event which happened under the rule of the third Antiochus. The form of the versified representation is curious; two rhyming hexameters are separated by a pentameter. The Latin prose versions appear to have been taken, partly from Godfrey's relation, partly from the Greek original: one of these is to be found in the *Gesta Romanorum.* Velser printed another without knowing this; and a third appeared in a separate form, without date or place, in the latter part of the fifteenth century. These three forms of the story differ from one another in words, not in incidents; but Eschenburg considers the first to be the model of the two others. An old German poem of *Apollonius von Tyrland,* by Heinrich von der Neuenstadt (at Vienna), was already extant in 1400; probably founded upon the story in the *Gesta Romanorum:* compare Hagen's and Büsching's Sketches, 206. The later variations in German prose, which were for a long time favourite popular books, appear to have been derived from Godfrey of Viterbo's Pantheon; at least, this source is assigned for the edition of Augsburg, printed in the year 1471, and that of Strasburg, small quarto, 1516 (according to Eschenburg's specimens, a very corrupt form of the story). That of 1556 in 12mo., of which we have made use, appears more correct. We have faithfully translated from it *Tharsien's lied,* evidently an old Meister leid, with its two parts (the aufgesang and abgesang—the aufgesang falls into two, the abgesang into three artificially rhymed stanzas), but we could do this only with the first strophe of the poem, as the second, singularly enough, proceeds with the story, which seems to confirm our supposition that an old Meister song has been interpolated. We considered ourselves under the necessity of taking greater liberty with the riddles, which

have not been so well handled in the popular form. There is a list of the MSS. and printed editions of this romance, in all languages, in Douce, ii., 140 *et seq.*

In England, the romance of "Apollonius of Tyre" was early treated both in prose and verse. Gower,[1] who is introduced in Shakespeare's "Pericles" as the relator, interwove it into his *Confessio Amantis*, which was completed as early as 1393. His authority, as he himself professes, is Godfrey of Viterbo. But Dr. Farmer possessed a fragment of an English poem on the same circumstance,[2] which, according to the writing and language, appeared to be older than Gower. In English prose, the romance of "Apollonius" was published by Wynkyn de Worde, as early as 1510, translated from the French by Robert Copland. In 1576, William Howe had a privilege for an edition of this popular romance, of which the translation of T. Twine,[3] which appeared in 1607, by Valentine Sims, appears to have been only a reprint.

Gower's *Confessio Amantis* is considered as Shakespeare's immediate source, because this ancient poet is introduced speaking in Pericles. But from the notes of the English annotators, who produce frequent quotations from the popular books, we can see that the poet often departed from Gower's work, and followed the latter, where Gower is wanting.[4] It

[1] The story in Gower has been judiciously included in Mr. Collier's Shakespeare's Library.—Ed.

[2] This extremely curious fragment was written by a priest of Wimborne Minster, co. Dorset. It has escaped the researches of Mr. Collier, but has been recently printed by the Editor of this work in a volume intended for private circulation.—Ed.

[3] Not Thomas Twine, but his brother, Lawrence Twine, as Mr. Collier has remarked. This romance has been reprinted in Collier's Shakespeare's Library.—Ed.

[4] Instead of the game at ball, by which Apollonius gains the favour of the King of Pentapolis, Shakespeare has a tournament; it cannot be shown that he owes this alteration to any model. It is doubtful whether there was not an English form of this romance, having the altered names, which was used by Shakespeare.

appears also, from these passages, that the English people's book agrees very nearly with the German one, and this justifies us in keeping more immediately to that and to the *Gesta Romanorum*. We should have made use of the last only, but that the story was best fitted for an antique and popular form, which Shakespeare has taken pains to give it by the introduction of "ancient Gower;" and we found this could be best preserved by keeping close to the German popular form. We conceived, also, that we ought to give the songs and riddles in rhyme, according to the popular work, and not in hexameters. We must be excused for a somewhat freer treatment of the story than we should have allowed ourselves elsewhere, having to reconcile two distinct models. In this necessary liberty, we confined ourselves to the form of the story, without arbitrarily altering any of the incidents.

Many traits of popular fiction occur in our romance, but it can hardly be thought to rest entirely on a popular fiction. The incestuous love of Antiochus for his daughter is derived also by the German book from the *Helena*, and from Straparola's kindred novel of the "Maiden in the Coffer." Compare Valentine Schmidt's *Märchensaal*, 115, with the remarks, 303, and the *Pentamerone*, ii., 6 (16). But here, that is to say, in the tale, this love has a motive; while in "Apollonius" it is entirely without foundation. The preservation of Lucina in the chest reminds us of that of Doralice in the coffer. The riddle, on the solution of which the possession of the princess is made to depend, is a trait which perpetually recurs. The stay of Tharsia in the house of the Pander returns in a similar form in many ecclesiastical legends; for example, in that of St. Agnes, and the fisherman who shares his coat with the shipwrecked Apollonius is St. Martin. For the rest, the adventures of Apollonius are very much in the manner of the Greek romance, where voyages and pirates act the chief part. Yet a poetical style and an alluring

invention are not to be denied to this poem, and certainly our readers will thank us for preserving it.

It has been already remarked, in Chapter XI., that the discovery of Lucina, as Priestess of Diana at Ephesus, was probably the model for the preservation of Hermione in the "Winter's Tale." But much more does the preservation and discovery of Emilia, the Abbess at Ephesus, in the "Comedy of Errors," remind us of Apollonius and Pericles; as, on the other side, the catastrophe of the "Comedy of Errors" has a great resemblance to the event of the novel of "Cinthio," mentioned in Chapter XIII.

XV. KING LEAR.

It is well known that there is an older tragedy on the subject of King Lear,[1] which Tieck has translated in his "Old English Theatre," vol. ii. The author of it has doubtlessly taken his materials from Holinshed, or his predecessor, Geoffrey of Monmouth. The episode of Gloucester and his sons, Edmund and Edgar, however, as the source of those who have given the adventure out of Sidney's "Arcadia," does not occur here, and the conclusion in the chronicle is much more scanty. Tieck ascribes this older piece, which is judged by the English much too depreciatingly, and still more unjustly by Voss, in the remarks to his translation, to Shakespeare. It is known that Tieck considers many other plays as works of Shakespeare's youth, and we trust he will not withhold the proofs. We consider his opinion with regard to this older King Lear, which has great beauties,[2] as less bold than many of his others.

The author of the older play has clearly not made use of the old ballad of "King Leir and his three daughters," given by Percy, and translated by Eschenberg; the newer piece, however, has several things in common with the ballad; for example, Lear's madness, Cordelia's death, &c., and thus arises

[1] Our author here refers, of course, to "The True Chronicle History of King Leir," 1605, reprinted by Steevens.—Ed.

[2] The inability of German writers to appreciate the poetry of our old drama, however deeply they understand its philosophy, is nowhere so clearly exhibited as in their observations on such works as these. The old play may certainly be compared with advantage to its contemporaries, but very few English critics would discover the "great beauties" in it, which M. Simrock appears to have found.—Ed.

the question, whether the author of the ballad copied from the play, or Shakespeare from the ballad. We decide for the first supposition, partly on account of the modern tone of this spiritless fabrication, partly because the poet, to whom the older piece, or at least Holinshed's Chronicle, was accessible, could find all the ideas determining the treatment of the subject in his own mind, which was not the case with the ballad-writer. That nothing is said in the ballad of the "Night-Storm" cannot prove Johnson's opinion that it is older than the play, for it is clear that the author of the ballad did not mean to give an extract from the play.[1] He meant, as the name Aganippus shows, to guide himself by the Chronicle, but could not keep himself free from the influence of the play.

Cordelia's words in Holinshed are singular:—"So much as you have, so much you are worth, and so much I love you, and no more." In Monmouth—

"Quantum habes, tantum vales, tantumque te diligo."

The old ballad more clearly—

"My love shall be the duty of a child."

And in the older play—

"What love the child doth owe her father."

In Spenser's "Faerie Queene," where the story of Lear is related in few words, Cordelia says, that she loves her father as much as is becoming; and in the *Gesta Romanorum*, as much as he is worthy. The latter seems also to be the meaning in Monmouth and Holinshed.

The story takes another turn in the popular tale of the history of Ina, King of the West Saxons, which Camden relates (Remains, p. 306, ed. 1674). "This King had three

[1] The writer evidently copied Holinshed, but includes an incident not occurring in the pages of that historian, but found in the play.—Ed.

daughters, to whom he once put the question if they loved him, and would always love him above all other things. The two elder answered this question with high and deep oaths; but the youngest and most prudent said to him, openly and without flattery, that she valued and honoured him as highly as nature and filial duty could command, and would do this as long as she lived, but that she believed a time must come when she must love another more tenderly than him. Hereby she understood her future husband, whom she was bound by God's command to follow, and to leave father, mother, and brothers, for his sake." This turn is not strange to Shakespeare.

"Why have my sisters husbands, if they say
They love you all? Haply, when I shall wed,
That lord, whose hand must take my plight, shall carry
Half my love with him, half my care and duty;
Sure, I shall never marry, like my sisters,
To love my father all."

Camden's book appeared shortly before 1605, when the second Lear was composed, and Malone hence believes that this story was in the poet's mind when writing Cordelia's answer. This can neither be affirmed nor denied; but yet one must allow to Shakespeare that he was quite capable of inventing this answer for himself. For the same reason, we cannot with Steevens assume that he borrowed the behaviour of Oswald from the "Mirror of Magistrates," 1587.

The English *Gesta Romanorum* contain (ch. 21.) a story belonging to this subject, which was probably the source of Geoffrey of Monmouth's history, who decorated his fabulous Chronicle with those tales which pleased him. The *Gesta Romanorum*, it is true, were collected later than Monmouth wrote, or rather invented, but the story we are going to give is evidently older than the collection.

"Theodosius, a mighty Emperor of Rome, had three daughters, whom he once asked if they loved him. The eldest

said, More than myself; the second, As myself; the third, As much as you are worthy, and no more. Hereupon he married the first to a king, the second to a duke, and the third to a count. Now it happened that the Emperor fought a battle with the King of Egypt, and the King drove the Emperor out of his realm, so that he had not where to lay his head. In this necessity, he turned to his eldest daughter, and begged for help. She took counsel with the king, her husband, who was willing to come to his help with a great army. But the daughter thought it would be enough to send him five knights, who should keep him company in his banishment, and so it was done. When the Emperor heard of this, he was very melancholy, having set all his comfort on this eldest daughter, because she had said that she loved him better than herself. Now he turned to the second, who had said she loved him as herself, and begged her to help him. But she did nothing but send him meat and drink and befitting clothing. Then he resolved also to visit the third, begged her help, and told her how her sisters had treated him. Then this third daughter, who loved her father according to his worth, turned to her husband, and begged him to help her in this necessity, for that her father was driven from his kingdom and inheritance. 'And what shall I do therein?' said the Count. 'As quickly as possible gather a great army, and help him against his enemies,' answered the daughter. The Count did this, gained the victory, and set the king again in his ancestors' kingdom. Then said the king, 'Blessed be the hour which gave me this my youngest daughter. I loved her less than her sisters, and now has she helped me in my need, when the others forsook me; therefore, after my death, shall the kingdom also be her portion.'"

In the new King Lear, the behaviour of the two elder daughters, and their *liaison* with Edmund, remind us of the two daughters of Servius Tullius; of whom the good one was married to the wicked Tarquinius, and the wicked one

to the good brother, until the good husband and wife were removed, and the bad came together. This resemblance is most striking in the relation of Goneril to Albany. He is the good Tarquin who has married the wicked Tullia; but she wishes to remove him out of the way, not for the sake of the wicked husband of her sister, but for the more wicked Edmund. The relation of Livy may not have been unknown to the poet.

XVI. MACBETH.

Shakespeare follows Holinshed, and that historian followed Hector Boethius. Buchanan, on the contrary, in his Scottish history (*Rerum Scoticarum Historia, Edimburgi*, 1528, fol. 60 *et seq.*), refuses to believe anything of the marvels and appearances which form the main part of the tale of Macbeth; but he cannot keep himself wholly clear of them. He turns the first appearance of the witches, and their prophetic greeting, into a nocturnal vision, which is afterwards fulfilled: the promised future greatness of the descendants of Banquo he considers as a report maliciously (*per maleficos*) spread abroad, which tempts Macbeth to have him murdered: the boughs which Malcolm's soldiers carried in their hands he considers as a sign of their joyful hope of conquering, by which, confidence being destroyed, Macbeth took to flight (*eâ perterritus hostium fiducia, Macbethus confestim in fugam se dedit*); all the rest of the miraculous he gives up entirely—*quia theatris aut Milesiis fabulis sunt aptiora quam historiæ.*

Malone has noticed that there is a hint, in these words of Buchanan, that the tale of Macbeth is adapted to theatrical representation. But he prudently adds, that in Shakespeare's time there was no translation of Buchanan's work in existence. Though we are not of his opinion that Shakespeare was ignorant of the Latin language, still we think he had no need of the opinion of Buchanan to find that this subject was poetic and dramatical. Farmer is still more inconsistent. He suspects that Shakespeare may have become acquainted with his subject matter, not improbably, from a

small piece, of similar tendency, which was played in 1605 before King James at Oxford (Shakespeare's Macbeth, according to Malone, was written in 1606). Wake, in his *Rex Platonicus*,[1] says: "The subject of the play was an old tale of the Scots of their royal house, according to which three Sibyls appeared on a certain time to the two Scottish nobles, Macbeth and Banquo, and prophecied to them that the former would be King, but beget no King; the latter would not be King, but beget many. That the event had fulfilled this prediction, since the glorious King James was sprung from Banquo's race." Further on, Farmer adds, that he has been reproached with ascribing to Shakespeare an acquaintance with the Latin language; for the above-mentioned interlude was performed before the King in that language.[2] But he perceives, from an old book by Anthony Nixon, 1605,

[1] "Fabulæ ansam dedit antiqua de Regia prosapia historiola apud Scoto-Britannos celebrata, quæ narrat tres olim Sibyllas occurrisse duobus Scotiæ proceribus, Macbetho et Banchoni, et illum prædixisse Regem futurum, sed Regem nullum geniturum, hunc Regem non futurum, sed Reges geniturum multos. Vaticinii veritatem rerum eventus comprobavit; *Banchonis* enim è stirpe Potentissimus *Jacobus* oriundus. Tres adolescentes concinno Sibyllarum habitu induti, è Collegio prodeuntes, et carmina lepida alternatim canentes, Regi se tres esse illas Sibyllas profitentur, quæ *Banchoni* olim sobolis imperia prædixerant, jamque iterum comparere, ut eâdem vaticinii veritate prædicerent *Jacobo*, se jam et diu regem futurum Britanniæ felicissimum et multorum Regum parentem, ut ex *Banchonis* stirpe nunquam sit hæres Britannico diademati defuturus. Deinde tribus Principibus suaves felicitatum triplicitates triplicatis carminum vicibus succinentes, veniamque precantes, quòd alumni ædium *Divi Johannis* (qui præcursor Christi) alumnos Ædis *Christi* (quo tum Rex tendebat) præcursoria hac salutatione antevertissent, Principes ingeniosa fictiuncula delectatos dimittunt; quos inde universa astantium multitudo, felici prædictionum successui suffragans votis precibusque ad portam usque civitatis Borealem prosequitur."—*Wake, ibid.* This work seems to have been popular. The fifth edition appeared at Oxford, in 1635.—Ed.

[2] A more particular account of this interlude will be found, by the curious reader, in Gwynne's Vertumnus, 4to., 1607.—Ed.

that this piece was played first before the King, in Latin, and afterwards before the Queen and the English princes, in English; and so all is explained. We mention this merely for our reader's amusement.

The story of Boethius can hardly be founded on history, but certainly it has a deep foundation in popular story. The gaps in the story have here, too, been clearly supplied from popular tales. Grimm, in his remarks on the story of the Fisherman and his Wife, has compared Lady Macbeth with the Etrurian Tanaquil, who, also, like Eva, incites her husband to aim at high things. In Livy's relation, this appearance is repeated in Tullia, the wife of the gentle Tarquin, of which we have spoken in our chapter on King Lear. The incident of the wood is found related in fiction in various other ways. There is a great coincidence in the story of King Grünewald, which Professor Schwarz has preserved in his Hessian *memorabilia* from the mouth of old people. "A King had an only daughter, who possessed *wonderful gifts*. Now, there came once his enemy, a King named Grünewald, and besieged him in his castle; and, as the siege lasted long, the daughter continually encouraged her father in the castle. This lasted till May-day. Then all at once the daughter saw the hostile army approaching with green boughs: then she was in fear and trouble; *for she knew that all was lost*, and said to her father—

'Father, give yourself for lost—
The greenwood's coming here.'"

Compare Grimm's German Tales, i., 148. Here the connexion with the story of Macbeth is not to be mistaken. The daughter plays the same part as the witches. She knows, by means of her miraculous gifts, that her father cannot be conquered till the greenwood comes up to them; and, as she considers this impossible, she inspires him with confidence; but, when the supposed impossible incident comes to pass, she advises him to surrender. On the other hand, no

prophecy appears to have preceded the artifice of Fredegrund, who hung bells on her horses, and ordered each of her warriors to take a twig in his hand, and so to march against the enemy; whereby the sentinels of the hostile camp were deceived, believing their horses were feeding in the neighbouring wood; until the Franks let their boughs fall, and the wood stood bare of leaves, but thick with the shafts of glancing spears. (Compare Grimm's "German Popular Stories," ii., 91.) It was merely a military stratagem; just as Malcolm, when he commanded his soldiers, on their march, to take boughs in their hands, had nothing else in his mind, for he knew not what had been prophesied to Macbeth.

The following passage from Joh. Weyer de Præstigiis, Frankfurt, 1586, p. 329, is remarkable:—"If any one wishes to give himself the appearance of having about a thousand men or horse round him, he must have a year-old willow bough cut off at one stroke, with certain conjurations, repetion of barbarous words, and rude characters." A single man might find some difficulty in giving himself, by the use of this vaunted recipe, the appearance of a whole host; but the inventor evidently founded his pretension upon a popular story, according to which a bold army had, by this artifice, concealed its weakness from an enemy superior in number. According to Holinshed, however, Malcolm's army was superior in number to that of Macbeth, and the concealment with the twigs was only put in practice, so that, when they were thrown away, the superiority of numbers being suddenly seen might create more terror.

We cannot find the second prediction, "that none of woman born should harm Macbeth," in any other popular story; but, on the other hand, many men and demigods occur, who, like Macduff, "were from their mother's womb untimely ripped." This always indicates power and heroic strength. Such a one was Volsung, Sigurd's ancestor. (*Volsungasaga*, cap. 3, 4.)

Shakespeare makes the ghost of the murdered Banquo appear at the banquet to which Macbeth had invited the living man. There is nothing of this in the tale of Macbeth; for, according to Holinshed, the murder does not take place till after the feast. Here, however, the poet has amended the single story in its own sense; for it is well known, according to popular fiction, that the dead keep their word, even beyond the grave, and expect that as much should be done for them, even when it is destructive to the living. We may instance Leonora and the Bride of Corinth. That Banquo appears visibly to Macbethy onl is of no importance to the story. This trait in Shakespeare has considerable resemblance with Don Juan's invitation of the marble guest.

Note by the Editor.

The incident of cutting down the branches of the trees is found in several histories not noticed by M. Simrock. A similar stratagem is related in the old romance life of Alexander the Great, thus translated in the Thornton MS., in the library of Lincoln Cathedral:—"In the mene tyme, Kyng Alexander remowed his oste, and drew nere the cité of Susis, in the whilke Darius was lengand the same tyme, so that he myȝte see alle the heghe hillez that ware abowune the citee. Than Alexander commanded alle his mene that ilkane of thame suld cutte downe a brawnche of a tree, and bere thame furth with thame, and dryfe bifore thame alle manere of bestez that thay myȝte fynde in the way; and when the Percyenes saw thame fra the heghe hillez, thay wondred thame gretly." Compare, also, Olaus Magnus, vii., 20, De Stratagemate Regis Hachonis per Frondes:—"Nec accelerationi prospera fortuna defuit: nam primam et secundam vigilum stationem suspenso tacitoque itinere prætervectus, cum ad extremas sylvarum latebras devenisset, jussit abscissos arborum ramos singulorum suorum manibus gestari. Quod cum milites in tertiâ statione constituti adverterant, mox Sigaro nuntiant se insolitam et stupendam rei novitatem admirantibus oculis subjecisse. Visum quippe erat nemus suis sedibus evulsum ad regiam usque properare. Tum Sigarus animo ad insidiarum considerationem converso, respondit, eo sylvarum accessu sibi extrema fata portendi."

The reader may not be displeased to have the opportunity of perusing the extract from Gwynne's work, alluded to at p. 127:—

"Ad regis introitum, e Joannensi Collegio extra portam urbis borealem sito, tres quasi Sibyllæ, sic (ut e sylva) salutarunt.

"1. Fatidicas olim fama est cecinisse sorores
Imperium sine fine tuæ, rex inclyte, stirpis.
Banquonem agnovit generosa Loquabria Thanum;
Nec tibi, Banquo, tuis sed sceptra nepotibus illæ
Immortalibus immortalia vaticinatæ:
In saltum, ut lateas, dum Banquo recedis ab aula.
Tres eadem pariter canimus tibi fata tuisque,
Dum spectande tuis, e saltu accedis ad urbem;
Teque salutamus: Salve, cui Scotia servit;
2. Anglia cui, salve. 3. Cui servit Hibernia, salve.
1. Gallia cui titulos, terras dant cætera, salve.
2. Quem divisa prius colit una Britannia, salve.
3. Summe Monarcha Britannice, Hibernice, Gallice, salve.
1. Anna, parens regum, soror, uxor, filia, salve.
2. Salve, Henrice hæres, princeps pulcherrime, salve.
3. Dux Carole, et perbelle Polonice regule, salve.
1. Nec metas fatis, nec tempora ponimus istis;
Quin orbis regno, famæ sint terminus astra:
Canutum referas regno quadruplice clarum;
Major avis, æquande tuis diademate solis.
Nec serimus cædes, nec bella, nec anxia corda;
Nec furor in nobis; sed agente calescimus illo
Numine, quo Thomas Whitus per somnia motus,
Londinenses eques, musis hæc tecta dicavit.
Musis? imo Deo, tutelarique Joanni.
Ille Deo charum et curam, prope prætereuntem
Ire salutatum, Christi precursor, ad ædem
Christi pergentem, jussit. Dictâ ergo salute
Perge, tuo aspectu sit læta Academia, perge."

In addition to these extracts, I take the opportunity of adding the history of Macbeth, from "Wintownis Cronykil," as it has not been inserted in Mr. Collier's Shakespeare's Library, probably because that writer thought (and very justly) that it is at best a remote illustration of the play; but it is, nevertheless, worth a place in a work which professedly attempts to trace the plots to their originals:—

"Qwhen Makbeth-Fynlay rase
And regnand in-til Scotland was."

In this tyme, as yhe herd me tell
Of Trewsone that in Ingland fell,
In Scotland nere the lyk cas
Be Makbeth-Fynlayk practykyd was,
Quhen he mwrthrysyde his awyne Eme,
Be hope, that he had in a dreme,
That he sawe, quhen he was yhyng
In Hows duelland wyth the Kyng,
That fayrly trettyd hym and welle
In all, that langyd hym ilke dele:
For he wes hys Systyr Sone,
Hys yharynyng all he gert be done.
Anycht he thowcht in hys dremyng,
That syttand he wes besyde the Kyng
At a Sete in hwntyng; swa
In-til his Leisch had Grewhundys twa.
He thowcht, quhile he wes swa syttand,
He sawe thre Wamen by gangand;
And thai Wemen than thowcht he
Thre Werd Systrys mast lyk to be.
The fyrst he hard say gangand by,
'Lo, yhondyr the Thayne of Crwmbawchty.'
The tothir Woman sayd agayne,
'Of Morave yhondyre I se the Thayne.'
The thryd than sayd, 'I se the Kyng.'
All this he herd in hys dremyng.
Sone eftyre that in hys yhowthad
Of thyr Thayndomys he Thayne wes made.
Syne neyst he thowcht to be Kyng,
Fra Dunkanys dayis had tane endyng.
The fantasy thus of hys Dreme
Movyd hym mast to sla hys Eme;
As he dyd all furth in-dede,
As before yhe herd me rede,
And Dame Grwok, hys Emys Wyf,
Tuk, and led wyth hyr hys lyf,
And held hyr bathe, hys Wyf, and Qweyne,
As befor than scho had beyne
Til hys Eme Qwene, lyvand
Quhen he wes Kyng wyth Crowne rygnand:
For lytyl in honowre than had he
The greys of Affynyté.
All thus quhen his Eme wes dede,
He succedyt in his stede:
And sevyntene wyntyr full rygnand
As Kyng he wes than in-til Scotland.
All hys tyme was gret Plenté
Abowndand, bath on Land and Se.
He wes in Justice rycht lawchful,
And til hys Legis all awful.
Quhen Leo the tend wes Pape of Rome,
As Pylgryne to the Curt he come:
And in hys Almus he sew Sylver
Til all pure folk, that had myster.
And all tyme oysyd he to wyrk
Profytably for Haly Kyrke.

Bot, as we fynd be sum Storys,
Gottyne he wes on ferly wys.
Hys Modyr to Woddis mad oft repayre
For the delyte of halesum ayre.
Swa, scho past a-pon a day
Til a Wod, hyr for to play:
Scho met of cas with a fayr man
(Nevyr nane sa fayre, as scho thowcht than,
Before than had scho sene wyth sycht)
Of Bewté plesand, and of Hycht
Proportyownd wele, in all mesoure
Of Lym and Lyth a fayre fygowre.
In swylk aqweyntans swa thai fell,
That, schortly thare-of for to tell,
Thar in thar Gamyn and thar Play,
That Persown be that Woman lay,
And on hyr that tyme to Sowne gat
This Makbeth, that eftyr that
Grew til thir Statis, and this hycht,
To this gret powere, and this mycht,
As befor yhe have herd sayd.
Fra this persowne wyth hyr had playd,
And had the Jowrné wyth hyr done,
That he had gottyne on hyr a Sone,
(And he the Dewil wes, that hym gat)
And bad hyr noucht fleyd to be of that;
Bot sayd, that hyr Sone suld be
A man of gret state and bowntė;
And na man suld be borne of wyf
Of powere to rewe hym hys lyf.
And of that Dede in taknyng
He gave his Lemman thare a Ryng;
And bad hyr, that scho suld kepe that wele,
And hald for hys luve that Jwele.
Eftyr that oft oysyd he
Til cum til hyr in prewaté;
And tauld hyr mony thyngis to fall;
Set trowd thai suld noucht hawe bene all.
At hyr tyme scho wes lychtare,
And that Sowne, that he gat, scho bare.
Makbeth-Fynlake wes cald hys name,
That grewe, as yhe herd, til gret fame.
This was Makbethys Ofspryng,
That hym eftyr mad oure Kyng,
As of that sum Story sayis;
Set of hys Get fell othir wayis,
And to be gottyn kyndly,
As othir men ar generaly.
And quhen fyrst he to rys began,
Hys Emys Sownnys twa lauchful than
For dowt owt of the Kynryk fled.
Malcolme, noucht gottyn of lauchful bed,
The thryd, past off the land alsua
As banysyd wyth hys Brethyr twa,
Til Saynt Edward in Ingland,
That that tyme thare wes Kyng ryngnand.
He thame ressawyd thankfully,
And trettyd thame rycht curtasly.
And in Scotland than as Kyng
This Makbeth mad gret steryng;
And set hym than in hys powere
A gret Hows for to mak of Were

A-pon the hycht of Dwnsynane:
Tymbyr thare-til to drawe, and stane,
Of Fyfe, and of Angws, he
Gert mony oxin gadryd be.
Sa, on a day in thare trawaile
A yhok of oxyn Makbeth saw fayle:
That speryt Makbeth, quha that awcht
The yhoke, that faylyd in that drawcht.
Thai answeryd til Makbeth agayne,
And sayd, Makduff of Fyfe the Thayne
That ilk yhoke of oxyn awcht,
That he saw fayle in-to the drawcht.
Than spak Makbeth dyspytusly,
And to the Thayne sayd angryly,
Lyk all wrythyn in hys skyn,
His awyn Nek he suld put in
The yhoke, and ger hym drawchtis drawe,
Noucht dowtand all hys Kynnys awe.
Fra the Thayne Makbeth herd speke,
That he wald put in yhok hys Neke,
Of all hys thowcht he mad na Sang;
Bot prewaly owt of the thrang
Wyth slycht he gat; and the Spensere
A Lafe him gawe til hys Supere.
And als swne as he mycht se
Hys tyme and opportunyté,
Owt of the Curt he past and ran,
And that Layf bare wyth hym than
To the Wattyre of Eryne. That Brede
He gawe the Batwartis hym to lede,
And on the sowth half hym to sete,
But delay, or ony lete.
That passage cald wes eftyre than
Lang tyme Portnebaryan;
The Hawyn of Brede that suld be
Callyd in-tyl propyrté.
Owre the Wattyre than wes he sete,
Bwt dawngere, or bwt ony lete.
At Dwnsynane Makbeth that nycht,
As sone as hys Supere wes dycht,
And hys Marchalle hym to the Halle
Fechyd, than amang thaim all
Awaye the Thayne of Fyfe wes myst;
And na man quhare he wes than wyst.
Yhit a Knycht, at that Supere
That til Makbeth wes syttand nere,
Sayd til hym, it wes hys part
For til wyt sowne, quhethirwart
The Thayne of Fyfe that tyme past:
For he a wys man wes of cast,
And in hys Deyd wes rycht wyly.
Til Makbeth he sayd, for-thi
For na cost that he suld spare,
Sowne to wyt quhare Makduffe ware.
This heyly movyd Makbeth indede
Agayne Makduffe than to procede.
Yhit Makduff nevyrtheles
That set besowth the Wattyre wes
Of Erne, than past on in Fyfe
Til Kennawchy, quhare than hys Wyfe

Dwelt in a Hows mad of defens:[1]
And bad hyr, wyth gret diligens
Kepe that Hows, and gyve the Kyng
Thiddyr come, and mad bydyng
Thare ony Felny for to do,
He gave hyr byddyng than, that scho
Suld hald Makbeth in fayre Tretté,
A Bate quhill scho suld sayland se
Fra north to the sowth passand;
And fra scho sawe that Bate sayland,
Than tell Makbeth, the Thayne wes thare
Of Fyfe, and til Dwnsynane fare
To byde Makbeth; for the Thayne
Of Fyfe thowcht, or he come agayne
Til Kennawchy, than for til bryng
Hame wyth hym a lawchful Kyng.
Til Kennawchy Makbeth come sone,
And Felny gret thare wald have done:
Bot this Lady wyth fayre Tretté
Hys purpos lettyde done to be.
And sone, fra scho the Sayle wp saw,
Than til Makbeth wyth lytil awe
Scho sayd, 'Makbeth, luke wp, and se
Wndyr yhon Sayle forsuth is he,
The Thayne of Fyfe, that thow has sowcht.
Trowe thowe welle, and dowt rycht nowcht,
Gyve evyr thow sall hym se agayne,
He sall the set in-tyl gret payne;
Syne thow wald hawe put hys Neke
In-til thi yhoke. Now will I speke
Wyth the na mare: fare on thi waye,
Owthire welle, or ill, as happyne may.'
That passage syne wes comownly
In Scotland cald the Erlys-ferry.
Of that Ferry for to knaw
Bath the Statute and the Lawe,
A Bate suld be on ilke syde
For to wayt, and tak the Tyde,
Til mak thame frawcht, that wald be
Fra land to land be-yhond the Se.
Fra that the sowth Bate ware sene
The landis wndyre sayle betwene
Fra the sowth as than passand
Toward the north the trad haldand,
The north Bate suld be redy made
Towart the sowth to hald the trade:
And thare suld nane pay mare
Than foure pennys for thare fare,
Quha-evyr for his frawcht wald be
For caus frawchtyd owre that Se.
This Makduff than als fast
In Ingland a-pon Cowndyt past.
Thare Dunkanys Sownnys thre he fand,
That ware as banysyd off Scotland,

[1] "This 'hows of defens' was perhaps Maiden Castle, the ruins of which are on the south side of the present Kennoway. There are some remains of Roman antiquity in this neighbourhood, and it is very probable that Macduff's castle stood on the site of a Roman *Castellum*.—MACPHERSON.

Quhen Makbeth-Fynlake thare Fadyr slwe,
And all the Kynryk til hym drwe.
Saynt Edward Kyng of Ingland than,
That wes of lyf a haly man,
That trettyd thir Barnys honestly,
Ressayvyd Makduff rych curtasly,
Quhen he come til hys presens,
And mad hym honowre and reverens,
As afferyd. Til the Kyng
He tauld the caus of hys cummyng.
The Kyng than herd hym movyrly,
And answeryd hym all gudlykly,
And sayd, hys wyll and hys delyte
Wes to se for the profyte
Of tha Barnys; and hys wille
Wes thare honowre to fullfille.
He cownsayld this Makduffe for-thi
To trete tha Barnys curtasly.
And quhilk of thame wald wyth hym ga,
He suld in all thame sykkyre ma,
As thai wald thame redy mak
For thare Fadyre dede to take
Revengeans, or wald thare herytage,
That to thame felle by rycht lynage,
He wald thame helpe in all thare rycht
With gret suppowale, fors, and mycht.
Schortly to say, the lawchful twa
Brethire forsuke wyth hym to ga
For dowt, he put thaim in that peryle,
That thare Fadyre sufferyd qwhyle.
Malcolme the thyrd, to say schortly,
Makduff cownsalyd rycht thraly,
Set he wes noucht of lauchfull bed,
As in this Buke yhe have herd rede:
Makduff hym tretyd nevyr-the-les
To be of stark hart and stowtnes,
And manlykly to tak on hand
To bere the Crowne than of Scotland:
And bade hym thare-of hawe na drede:
For kyng he suld be made in-dede:
And that Traytoure ne suld sla,
That banysyd hym and hys Bredyr twa.
Tham Malcolme sayd, he had a ferly,
That he hym fandyde sa thraly
Of Scotland to tak the Crowne,
Qwhill he kend hys condytyowne.
Forsuth, he sayde, thare wes nane than
Swa lycherows a lyvand man,
As he wes; and for that thyng
He dowtyde to be made a Kyng.
A Kyngis lyf, he sayd, suld be
Ay led in-til gret honesté:
For-thi he cowth iwyl be a Kyng,
He sayd, that oysyd swylk lyvyng.
Makduff than sayd til hym agayne,
That that excusatyowne wes in wayne:
For gyve he oysyd that in-dede,
Of Women he suld have na nede;
For of hys awyne Land suld he
Fayre Wemen have in gret plenté.
Gyve he had Conscyens of that plycht,
Mend to God, that has the mycht.

Than Malcolme sayd, 'Thare is mare,
That lettis me wyth the to fare:
That is, that I am sua brynnand
In Cowatys, that all Scotland
Owre lytil is to my persowne:
I set nowcht thare-by a bwttowne.'
Makduff sayd, 'Cum on wyth me:
In Ryches thow sall abowndand be.
Trow wele the Kynryk of Scotland
Is in Ryches abowndand.'
Yhit mare Malcolme sayd agayne
'Til Makduff of Fyfe the Thayne,
De thryd wyce yhit mais me Lete
My purpos on thys thyng to sete:
I am sa fals, that na man may
Trow a worde that evyre I say.'
'Ha, ha! Frend, I leve the thare,'
Makduff sayd, 'I will na mare.
I will na langare karpe wyth the,
Na of this matere have Tretté;
Syne thow can nothire hald, na say
That stedfast Trowth wald, or gud Fay.
He is na man, of swylk a Kynd
Cummyn, bot of the Dewylis Strynd,
That can nothyr do na say
Than langis to Trowth, and gud Fay.
God of the Dewyl sayd in a quhile,
As I hawe herd red the Wangyle,
He is, he sayd, a Leare fals:
Swylk is of hym the Fadyre als.
Here now my Leve I tak at the,
And gyvys wp halyly all Tretté.
I cownt noucht the tothir twa
Wycys the walu of a Stra:
Bot hys thryft he has sald all owte,
Quham falshad haldis wndyrlowte.'
Til Makduff of Fyf the Thayne
This Malcolme awnseryde than a-gayne,
'I will, I will,' he sayd, 'wyth the
Pass, and prove how all will be.
I sall be lele and stedfast ay,
And hald till ilke man gud fay.
And na les in the I trowe.
For-thi my purpos hale is nowe
For my Fadrys Dede to ta
Revengeans, and that Traytoure sla,
That has my Fadyre befor slayne;
Or I sall dey in-to the payne.'
To the Kyng than als fast
To tak hys Leve than Malcolme past,
Makduff wyth hym hand in hand.
This Kyng Edward of Ingland
Gawe hym hys Lewe, and hys gud wyll,
And gret suppowale heycht thame tille,
And helpe to wyn hys Herytage.
On this thai tuke thane thaire wayage.
And this Kyng than of Ingland
Bad the Lord of Northwmbyrland,
Schyr Sward, to rys wyth all hys mycht
In Malcolmys helpe to wyn hys rycht.
Than wyth thame of Northumbyrland
This Malcolme enteryd in Scotland,
And past oure Forth, doun strawcht to Tay,
Wp that Wattyre the hey way
To the Brynnane to-gyddyr hale.
Thare thai bad, and tvk cownsale.

Syne thai herd, that Makbeth aye
In fantown Fretis had gret Fay,
And trowth had in swylk Fantasy,
Be that he trowyd stedfastly,
Nevyre dyscumfyt for to be,
Qwhill wyth his Eyne he suld se
The Wode browcht of Brynnane
To the hill of Dwnsynane.
Of that Wode thare ilka man
In-til hys hand a busk tuk than:
Of all hys Ost wes na man fre,
Than in his hand a busk bare he:
And til Dwnsynane alsa fast
Agayne this Makbeth thai past,
For thai thowcht wytht swylk a wyle
This Makbeth for til begyle.
Swa for to cum in prewaté
On hym, or he suld wytryd be.
The flyttand Wod thai callyd ay
That lang tyme eftyre-hend that day.
Of this quhen he had sene that sycht,
He wes rycht wa, aud tuk the flycht:
And owre the Mownth thai chast hym than
Tyl the Wode of Lunfanan.
This Makduff wes thare mast felle,
And on that chas than mast crwele.
Bot a Knycht, that in that chas
Til this Makbeth than nerest was,
Makbeth turnyd hym agayne,
And sayd, 'Lurdane, thow prykys in wayne,
For thow may noucht be he, I trowe,
That to dede sall sla me nowe.
That man is nowcht borne of Wyf
Of powere to rewe me my lyfe.'
The Knycht sayd, 'I wes nevyr borne;
Bot of my Modyre Wame wes schorne.
Now sall thi Tresowne here tak end;
For to thi Fadyre I sall the send."[1]
Thus Makbeth slwe thai than
In-to the Wode of Lunfanan:
And his Hewyd thai strak off thare;
And that wyth thame fra thine thai bare
Til Kynkardyn, quhare the Kyng
Tylle thare gayne-come made bydyng.
Of that slawchter ar thire wers
In Latyne wryttyne to rehers;
Rex Macabeda decem Scotie septemque fit annis,
In cujus regno fertile tempus erat:
Hunc in Lunfanan truncavit morte crudeli
Duncani natus, nomine Malcolimus."

[1] This appears to be historic truth. But Boyse thought it did not make so good a story as that Macbeth should be slain by Macduff, whom he therefore works up to a proper temper of revenge, by previously sending Macbeth to murder his wife and children. All this has a very fine effect in romance, or upon the stage.—MACPHERSON.

XVII. AS YOU LIKE IT.

"Rosalynde, Euphues Golden Legacie, found after his death in his cell at Silexedra. Bequeathed to Philautus sonnes nursed up with their father in England." London, 1598, 4to. This is the title of the semichivalrous pastoral whence Shakespeare's play above-named was taken. According to Eschenberg and Dunlop, the book was first printed in 1590.[1] The author's name was Thomas Lodge, and he was an imitator of John Lily, who, by his romances of "Euphues," "Euphues and his England," "Euphues and his Ephæbus," &c., and his nine court comedies, had given the taste of his time the impress of pedantic quibbling, and provided the ladies of Queen Elizabeth's court, for twenty years, with choice similes from the Grecian Mythology, and fabulous stories of the powers of stones and herbs. This *stilo culto*, as it is named by Tieck, founded chiefly by Lily, ornamented, and dealing to extravagance in antithesis, a knowledge of which is indispensable to the understanding of Shakespeare and his contemporaries, is found in its harshest form in this little romance of Thomas Lodge; who gave himself out for an imitator of Lily, inasmuch as he feigned, in the introduction, that this Euphues, John Lily's hero, left behind him this romance as a legacy to the sons of his friend Philautus. Robert Greene also, in his tale of "Dorastus and Faunia," which we have given as the source of the "Winter's Tale," was, according to Dunlop, an imitator of Lily, though his tale shows more taste.

Tieck understands the title of the play "As You Like It,"

[1] No perfect copy of this edition appears to be known. Mr. Collier, in his Shakespeare's Library, has used the impression of 1592.—Ed.

as an answer to a gasconade of Ben Jonson's, in his play of "Cynthia's Revels," where he makes the epilogue say, in allusion to Shakespeare's poem—

> "I'll only speak what I have heard him say,
> By ——, 'tis good, and if you like 't you may."

But it is not easy to see wherein the wit of such an answer of Shakespeare consists, for the antithesis between "If You Like It" and "As You Like It" wants point. It seems probable to us that Shakespeare borrowed the title of this piece from the short address of Thomas Lodge to his readers with which the piece begins; for here he says—"if you like it, so; and yes I will be yours in duty, if you be mine in favour." Probably Tieck never saw Lodge's romance, which is somewhat scarce, else he would at least have mentioned these words.

The proffer which Adam Spencer makes to Rosader, to redeem his life with his own blood, does not occur in Shakespeare's play; but it does in the old play of "King Lear," (Tieck's "Old English Theatre," ii., 317) where Perillus makes it to Lear. Here it is clearly more in place than in "Rosalind." If, as Tieck suspects, Shakespeare was the author of the older "King Lear," and if this piece was represented before 1590, which is very probable, we might believe that Thomas Lodge had borrowed also on his part from Shakespeare, for this incident is not found in the source which Lodge followed.

Dr. Grey (notes on Shakespeare, i., 156 *et seq.*) and Upton have considered as the source of Shakespeare a metrical story written by a contemporary of Chaucer, "The Coke's tale of Gamelyn," which by some has been erroneously ascribed to this father of English poetry, as he is styled by Dunlop. It is, however, merely the original of Lodge's tale, though Shakespeare also may have known it. The chivalrous element in Lodge's pastoral romance is derived from this poem, which is probably a translation from the French. Here

Sir John Boundis[1] has three sons, John, Otis, and Gamelyn. After his death, Gamelyn is deprived of his inheritance by his eldest brother, and in every way oppressed. Among other things, he persuades him to try his strength with a very strong wrestler; in which contest, against all expectation, Gamelyn gains the victory. Here occurs the old peasant, who bears so heroically the death of his three[2] sons. The rest coincides, as far as the flight of Rosader and Adam Spencer, who is here called Adam le Dispenser, with Lodge. In the wood they meet with a troop of banditti, with their leader at their head. By these Gamelyn is taken up, and as their leader is shortly afterwards restored to his honours and possessions, he is chosen king in his stead. The rest differs entirely. Gamelyn finds at last an opportunity to avenge himself on his brother.

It is a thoroughly popular trait when Gamelyn out of envy is persuaded by his brother to the wrestling-match in which he conquers. So Reigin tempts Sigurd to the battle with the dragon Fafnir, whereby Sigurd gains the hoard (der Hort, a famous treasure), the knowledge of the speech of birds, and also, according to the German fable, the gift of invulnerability. Envy must always serve as the means for lending renown and lustre to the greatness of heroes. In that part of Lodge's story which he has added of his own invention, there is found nothing which belongs to popular fiction, unless we class therewith the terror of the lion at the sleeping Saladin; a trait borrowed from fabulous natural history, in which Lodge was deeply read.

[1] In Lodge, only Sir John, but in Shakespeare, Rowland de Bois. This speaks in favour of the poet's knowledge of the old poem.

[2] In Lodge, only two, but Shakespeare has restored the original number.

XVIII., XIX. LOCRIN; LORD CROMWELL.

The conclusion of our collection contains the sources of two pieces, the attribution of which to Shakespeare is doubtful. The investigation of the genuineness of these plays, lately maintained again by Tieck, does not belong to this place. The first has been translated in the "Old English Theatre," by Tieck, and Eschenburg has given an abstract of the second.

As for the source of "Locrine," we do not in this instance agree with Görres, who, in the introduction to Lohengrin (p. xlvi.), ascribes to the Chronicle of Geoffrey of Monmouth (written between 1128-1138) certainly more credibility and historic fictional value than it really has, especially in its earlier part. The descent of the Britons from the Trojans, which Görres defends, seems to us merely an arbitrary invention of Monmouth's, not resting even upon a tradition. For the rest, his Chronicle really contains many genuine fictions and popular tales, which, however, Geoffrey first interwove in the mythic early history of Britain, chiefly invented by himself.

The insertion of the novel of Bandello may probably be considered as a departure from the plan of our work, whence the *historical* plays of Shakespeare must necessarily be excluded. But this piece can be only improperly classed among the historical.

We will here present the reader with some notices of the non-historical pieces of our author, of which the sources are not found in our collection.

The "Tempest" is hardly founded upon a *novella*, but, as

Tieck has already conjectured ("German Theatre," S. 22), from an older English play now lost, which Ayrer has taken for the groundwork of his "Beautiful Sidea."[1] The cotemporary accounts, too, of the latest sea voyages, and the discovery of the Bermudas, have had, according to Douce, the greatest influence upon our author's representation. The description of a newly-discovered island in Montaigne (i., 10) is found *verbatim* in Gonzalo's mouth.

"Titus Andronicus" appears to have been remodelled by Shakespeare, in 1600, from an older piece, of which also an old German imitation has been preserved (Tieck's "German Theatre," S. 27); there is also, as is well known, a ballad on the same story in Percy.

The still undiscovered source of "Love's Labour Lost" is suspected by Douce to exist in some French story. Our readers will have seen, from the second part of Tieck's life of the poet, that the Italian teacher Florio, in London, known also as a writer, must have sat for the portrait of Holofernes. The name Holofernes, according to Dunlop's remark, is derived from Rabelais' "Gargantua," where a pedant, Gargantua's tutor, bears the same name.

Of "Troilus and Cressida," satisfactory accounts are found in Eschenburg. Of the "Midsummer Night's Dream," we have spoken in Chapters XII. and XIII. Grimm has shown ("Irish Fairy Tales," S. 59) that the English poets owe their Oberon, the fairy king, to the old French popular romance of "Huon and Auberon," and that the latter again is identical with the Alberich of German popular fiction, and of the Niebelungen lied.

A few remarks on the "Comedy of Errors," doubtlessly imitated from the "Menæchmi" of Plautus, will be found

[1] The members of the Shakespeare Society are promised a translation of this curious drama from the pen of Mr. Thoms, who was the first to introduce the subject to English readers in an interesting article in the "New Monthly Magazine."—ED.

in Chapters XII., XIII., and XIV. The alteration of Shakespeare, by which the two similar twins have servants, twins of the same remarkable resemblance, is not only excellent in itself, but also has quite the character of a popular fiction, as I hope to show in a treatise on the friendship stories.

In conclusion, I consider it my duty to release my friends and fellow-labourers from any greater share of responsibility to the public and to criticism, than belongs to them, according to the proportion of their contributions. Therefore, I may be allowed to remark that the story of "Hamlet" (II.), and the *novella* of Giovanni Fiorentino, of the "Merchant of Venice," are by Dr. Echtermeyer; the story of *Felismene*, from Montemayor (XII.), and the sources of "Lear" and "Macbeth" (XV. and XVI.), are by Herr Henschel. The other pieces of this collection have been prepared by myself. In the composition of the preceding Remarks, the absence of my friends has deprived me of very desirable assistance.

THE END.

F. Shoberl, Jun., Printer to H.R.H. Prince Albert, 51, Rupert Street, Haymarket, London.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

OF

THE SHAKESPEARE SOCIETY,

TO THE

NINTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MEMBERS,

HELD,

ON THE 26TH APRIL, 1850,

AT THE ROOMS OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF LITERATURE, NO. 4,
ST. MARTIN'S PLACE, TRAFALGAR SQUARE, LONDON.

Our Society having now been established for ten years, ample time has been afforded for estimating its objects, and testing its utility; and the Council appeal with more than ordinary confidence to the continuation of the series of volumes (forty-one in number) printed under their superintendence. After this long experience, and the knowledge which the Members possess of the working of the Society, it cannot be necessary to say much upon the services thus rendered to the illustration generally of the old and admirable Dramatic Literature of our country; and especially of the productions of that great Poet, who, by the confession of all nations, stands foremost in the history of mankind, as the painter of life and manners.

Nothing can more emphatically prove the justice of the universal applause bestowed upon Shakespeare, than a comparison of his dramas with those of foreign countries of any age; and this remark is peculiarly appropriate at the present

moment, when an opportunity has been afforded for that comparison between his plays and those of the school to which they bear, in character and construction, the strongest resemblance. Mr. Ticknor, of Boston, in the second of his three excellent volumes on "the History of Spanish Literature," has for the first time enabled an English reader to form an accurate judgment on the merits of such authors as Lopé de Vega, Montalvan, and Calderon, and to decide unhesitatingly on the vast superiority of Shakespeare and his contemporaries. The striking coincidence, at least in form and fashion, between the Dramatic Poetry of England and of Spain, without the slightest apparent connexion or obligation, has long been admitted; but, until now, it cannot be said that we have possessed adequate means for pronouncing a deliberate verdict. The general result unquestionably is, that while both schools reject the trammels of the unities, the school of England has infinitely the advantage, not merely in the delineation of character and construction of plot, but in nearly all that belongs to poetry, passion, and sentiment. We may venture to affirm, that our second-rate dramatists, of the age of Shakespeare, are as much superior to the first-rate dramatists of the age of Lopé de Vega, as Shakespeare himself is superior to those who were by many looked upon in his time as the rivals of his popularity.

Our convictions of the high claims of some of the less known contemporaries of our great Dramatist has led the Council, in the course of the last year in particular, to devote especial attention to the productions of Thomas Heywood, who began his theatrical career towards the close of the reign of Elizabeth, and did not end it until about the period of the Civil Wars. It was proposed, at the seventh annual meeting of the Society, that a separate fund should be raised, for the purpose of reprinting the productions of Thomas Heywood and Thomas Dekker, with the view of forming, hereafter, a complete collection of their works; but it seems to have been thought, by most of our Members, that such an object, having been contem-

plated in the outset of our undertaking, ought to be included in the ordinary annual subscription. Acting upon this view, the Council has taken measures to carry it into effect; and our latest volume issued consists of two dramas by Heywood, printed uniformly with the four others delivered some time since to our subscribers. The six plays by Heywood may now be bound together, (should such an arrangement be deemed desirable) and an Editor has been obtained for the rest, who will leave nothing undone which an ancient and ardent love for the subject can accomplish.

The Council having thus been obliged to abandon the idea of establishing a Heywood and Dekker Fund, the subscriptions of Members to it will be taken either in diminution of their current or next year's subscription, or will be returned direct by the Treasurer.

That the Council may be enabled to carry its intentions into effect, it is not only necessary that the subscriptions should be numerous, but that they should be paid with punctuality. The Council can hardly press this point too strongly on the consideration of a General Meeting; and they may add, that if now, or at any other time, there appear to have been more delay than was expedient in the delivery of books to Members, it has mainly arisen from delay in the payment of subscriptions. Not one farthing, be it remembered, is devoted to any other purpose than printing, paper, and the general conduct of the business of the Society. Editors are merely gratuitous contributors, sometimes to the postponement of profitable labours; and the Council give their services, without any other inducement than zeal for the objects declared at our formation.

The Engraving by Mr. Samuel Cousins, from the Chandos Portrait of Shakespeare, in the possession of the President of the Society, to which the Council referred with so much satisfaction in its last report, has been delivered to the Members not in arrear with their subscriptions; and has given, the Council is glad to think, very general satisfaction; while,

as a work of art, it has justly added to the well earned reputation of the distinguished artist by whom it has been engraved.

Though the cost of this Engraving has been much greater than the Society has hitherto expended on any single publication, the Council have every reason to be proud of the success of their endeavours, in transferring from canvass to steel a faithful facsimile of a portrait which has been looked upon with reverential interest by the admirers of the great poet from the reign of Charles II., when we first hear of it as then in the possession of Sir William Davenant, down to the reign of Queen Victoria, when it was bought by its present noble possessor. Our Engraving has now added to its interest, and placed the features it perpetuates beyond destruction; while it has made, and will continue to make them familiar to thousands who may never have an opportunity of seeing the original portrait. It will be remembered that the Council restricted the number of impressions to be taken from the plate to seven hundred and fifty; and also announced its determination to destroy the plate when that number had been completed. The Council has made good this intention; and an impression from the disfigured plate, and the plate itself, broken into pieces, are now laid before the Members. Had the Council, it may be observed, determined on taking a larger number of impressions, they would have failed in securing Mr. Cousins's services. The remaining impressions of the plate may be looked upon as among the best property in the possession of the Society. Every impression, it may be observed, has passed under the eye of the Engraver, and received his approval.

It will be seen, from the Report of the Auditors, that the cost of this undertaking has in some degree crippled the funds of the Society; but the Council have great reason to believe that this will be but a temporary difficulty, and that the funds at their disposal will soon return to their former amount. In the mean time, in order to repair their finances, they have de-

termined on taking a novel step, and to *publish* the plays they have printed by Thomas Heywood, as the first volume of Heywood's Works. The volume (a copy of which is now laid on the table) will be sold at twenty shillings; but Members of at least two years' standing, who are desirous of retaining their set of the Shakespeare publications entire, may obtain it from the Agents at ten shillings, or one half of the publishing price.

The Council have to congratulate the Members on the completion and delivery of the long-promised work, consisting of a new Life of Inigo Jones; of sketches from his own hand for Court Masques and Dramas; and of five poetical productions of that description—two of them from the autograph of Ben Jonson, a third by John Marston, (recently discovered, and for the first time printed) and two others from original manuscripts of the same period. This, also, has been an unusually expensive volume to the Society, and has not been prepared without the assistance of three separate Editors; but it has attracted so much notice, and has been so generally approved, that it is the intention of the Council, with the permission of the Duke of Devonshire, (who has large and most valuable stores relating to the scenery and costume of our ancient stage by the same great artist) hereafter to issue a second volume, of similar contents and character.

The only work yet distributed for the subscription of the current year consists of the two plays by Heywood on the story of "The Fair Maid of the West." In the mean while, Mr. Halliwell is proceeding with a translation from the German of Simrock's production on the foreign sources of Shakespeare's plots; and Mr. Collier has nearly finished his collection for a third volume of Extracts from the Registers of the Stationers' Company. Mr. Cunningham's "Notes of Oldys on our old Dramatists" will, the Council are assured, be ready to appear as the last publication of the current year, or certainly not later than the first publication of the following year.

supposed resemblances, has been delayed, is a desire to obtain the most novel and accurate information. The Editor was unwilling to repeat what had before been detailed; and, in addition, the Council has been anxious to procure from Yorkshire a correct account of the copy of the Chandos Portrait, made for Dryden by Sir Godfrey Kneller. Another cause of postponement has been, that within the last few weeks two hitherto unnoticed pictures have been forwarded from Ireland, upon which it was evidently necessary to ascertain the opinions of competent judges before a decision was pronounced upon their claims as original portraits of Shakespeare and Ben Jonson.

By order of the Council,

J. PAYNE COLLIER, *Director.*

F. G. TOMLINS, *Secretary.*

REPORT OF THE AUDITORS.

We, the Auditors appointed to audit the Receipts and Expenditure of the Shakespeare Society, certify that the Treasurer has exhibited to us his Accounts from the 18th of April, 1849, to the 23rd of April, 1850; that we have examined the same, together with the vouchers in support thereof, and find the whole Account correct and satisfactory.

And we further report that the following is a correct Abstract of the Receipts and Expenditure of the Society for the above period.

RECEIPTS.	£	s.	d.
Balance on the 18th April, 1849, as per Report of Auditors	57	17	6
Arrear Subscriptions for 1846	4	0	0
Arrear Subscriptions for 1847	5	0	0
New and Arrear Subscriptions for 1848	22	0	0
New and Arrear Subscriptions for 1849	45	0	0
Subscriptions for the Current year	120	0	0
Twenty-two Artist's Proofs of the Chandos Portrait of Shakespeare, at £3 each	66	0	0
Thirteen Director's Proofs, at £2 each	26	0	0
	345	17	6

PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
To Samuel Cousins, Esq., for Engraving the Chandos Portrait of Shakespeare	178	10	0
To Messrs. Dixon and Ross, Copper-plate Printers, for printing 750 impressions of the Chandos Portrait of Shakespeare	48	5	0
Engraving Name, &c., beneath Chandos Plate, taking impressions from damaged Plate, Frames and Glasses for exhibiting and protecting Engraving	9	17	6
Value of Artist's Proof, and value of Director's proof, presented to the Earl of Ellesmere, and included in the Receipts	5	0	0
To the Royal Society of Literature, for One Year's use of their Council Room to 15th December, 1849	12	0	0
To the Executors of the late Mr. Thomas Rodd, Agent to the Society, for the delivery of Books	12	0	0
To Messrs. Skeffington and Southwell, Agents to the Society, for the delivery of Books to 31st December, 1849	11	11	0
To Messrs. Westley, for Binding	12	9	8
	289	13	2

RECEIPTS.	£	s.	d.	PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	345	17	6	Brought forward	289	13	2
				To Mr. Netherclift, balance of his account for making facsimiles of sketches by Inigo Jones	14	1	3
				Cost of Annual Meeting at the Craven Hotel, Gratuity to the Doorkeeper of the Royal Society of Literature, and other petty expenses	2	12	6
				Extracts from Wills, Searches, Transcripts, &c. .	3	6	6
				Advertising, Postage, Treasurer's Expenses, &c. .	14	6	6
					323	19	11
				Balance	21	17	7
	345	17	6		345	17	6

And we the Auditors have further to report that, over and above the present balance of £21 17*s.* 7*d.*, there are still outstanding certain Subscriptions for prior years, which the Treasurer informs us there is every chance of his getting in during the present season. These arrears would have been considerably less, we are assured, and see reason to believe, had not the affairs of the Society been thrown into confusion by the sudden death of Mr. Rodd, the Society's Agent. Arrangements, we are glad to find, have now been made for the employment of a Collector, (as recommended by the Auditors of the preceding account) both for arrear and current Subscriptions.

The liabilities of the Society consist (as on former occasions) of a balance on Mr. Shoberl's bill for printing, and on Mr. Bonsor's bill for paper. Both bills, however, owing to the issue of the Shakespeare Portrait, (the paper for which is included in the bill of Messrs. Dixon and Ross) will necessarily be smaller in amount than usual.

We have to add, that the whole cost of engraving and printing the Chandos Portrait is included in the present account, and that certain sums have still to be collected from Members whose names are down for proof impressions.

JOSHUA W. BUTTERWORTH.
B. H. SMART.
24th April, 1850. GEORGE SMITH.

ANNUAL MEETING, 26th APRIL, 1850.

The Report of the Council and the Report of the Auditors having been read, the following Resolutions were passed:—

RESOLUTION I. That the Report of the Council for the past year be received and printed, and that the thanks of the Society be given to the Council for their services.

RESOLUTION II. That the Report of the Auditors be received and printed, and that the thanks of the Society be given to them for their services.

RESOLUTION III. That the thanks of the Society be given to the Editors of the various works issued during the past year: viz., to John Payne Collier, Esq., for the Second Volume of the "Extracts from the Registers of the Stationers' Company," and for the valuable Notes and Illustrations thereto appended; to the same gentleman for editing the First and Second Parts of Heywood's "Fair Maid of the West;" and for the share he took in jointly editing the "Sketches by Inigo Jones;" also to Mr. Planché, for his Remarks on Stage Costume, &c.; and to Mr. Peter Cunningham, for his new and original Biography of Inigo Jones, both comprised in that work; also to Mr. Peter Cunningham, for the great trouble and pains he has taken, relative to the production and distribution of Mr. Cousins's Engraving of the Chandos Portrait.

RESOLUTION IV. That the thanks of the Society be given to the Director, Treasurer, and Secretary, for their services.

RESOLUTION V. That the thanks of the Meeting be given to the Royal Society of Literature, for the use of their Library for the assembly of the Members on the present occasion.

JOHN BRUCE ESQ., F.S.A., CHARLES KNIGHT, ESQ., SIR EDWARD BULWER LYTTON, BART., WILLIAM C. MACREADY, ESQ., AND THOMAS THOMSON, ESQ., M.D., retiring from the Council, the vacancies were filled up by the unanimous election of

W. DURRANT COOPER, ESQ., F.S.A.
CHARLES DICKENS, ESQ.
JAMES HEYWOOD, ESQ., M.P.
ZOUCH TROUGHTON, ESQ.
HIS EXCELLENCY M. DE SILVAIN VAN DE WEYER.

The remaining Members of the Council were re-elected.

The following Members were also elected Auditors for the year ending 26th of April, 1851.

RICHARD BENTLEY, ESQ.
J. GOUGH NICHOLS, ESQ.
LEWIS POCOCK, ESQ.

AGENTS TO THE SOCIETY,

Messrs. SKEFFINGTON and SOUTHWELL, 192, Piccadilly, London, who are empowered to receive Subscriptions, and to whom all letters relative to the delivery of the books must be addressed.

*** *The Subscription to the Society is £1 per annum, payable in advance on the 1st January in each year, which entitles the Subscriber to all the books published in the year for which the Subscription is made.*

This book should be returned to the Library on or before the last date stamped below.

A fine of five cents a day is incurred by retaining it beyond the specified time.

Please return promptly.

JAN 8 '62 H

BOOK DUE - SCFAC
686 [illegible]
AUG 1 [illegible] 1960

CANCELLED
JUL 23 1960

11484.5 vol.43
The remarks of M. Karl Simrock, on
Widener Library 001517134
3 2044 086 714 953